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RECONSTRUCTION IN FRANCE

By

WILLIAM MacDONALD

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RECONSTRUCTION IN FRANCE

BY
WILLIAM MacDONALD

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It has seemed to me that the time was opportune for a comprehensive survey of the unparalleled work which France has undertaken in the restoration of its invaded departments. This book is an attempt at such a survey.

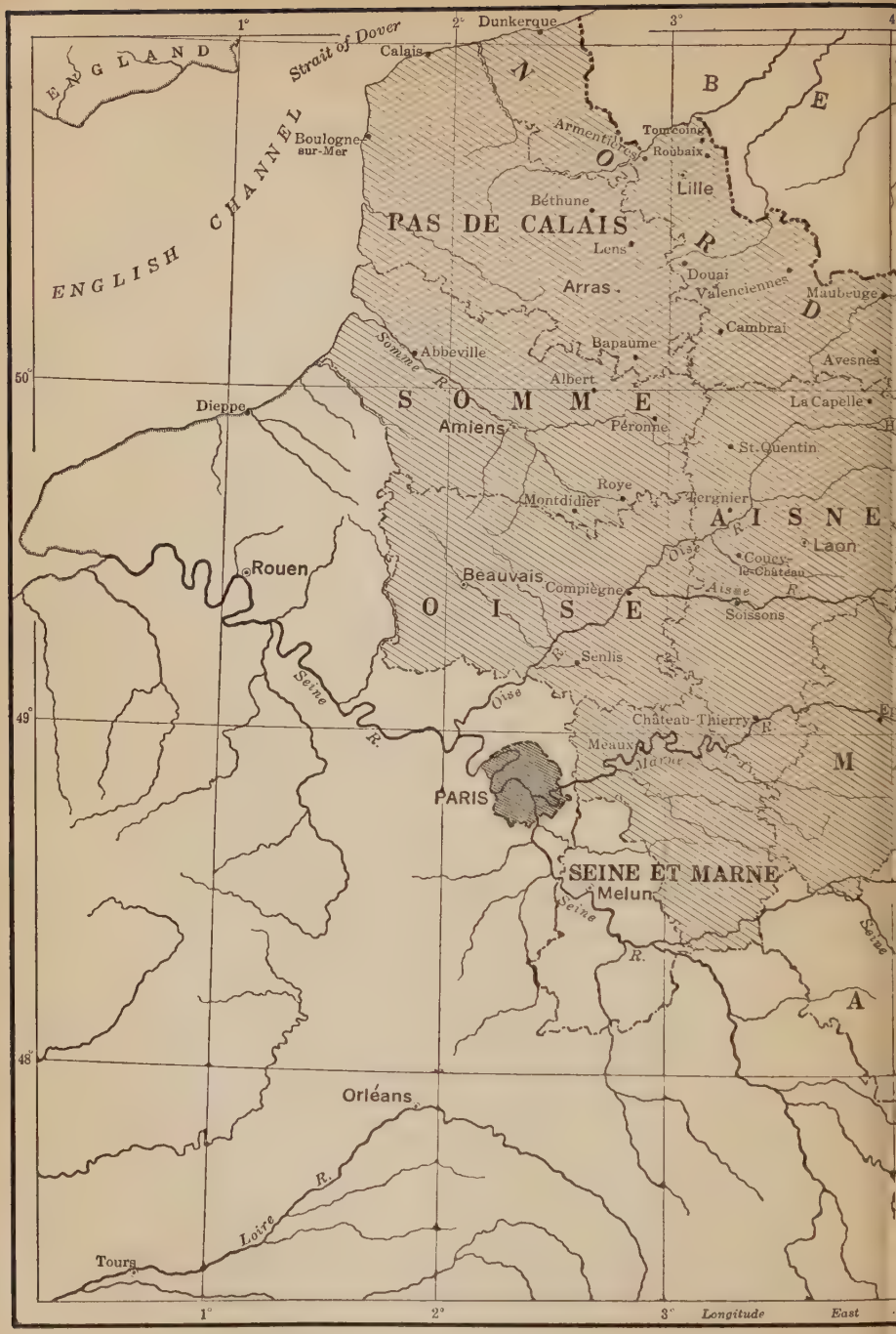
In addition to the numerous officials and others who, in the course of my repeated visits to the invaded departments both during and since the war, have aided me with information and advice, I have to acknowledge special indebtedness to M. Maurice Cazenave, Director of the French High Commission in the United States; M. Henri Prangey, Chef de Cabinet in the Loucheur Ministry of the Liberated Regions; M. Verdier of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts; M. Reynald and the Marquis de Lubersac, senators; M. Stouvenot, Director of Mines at Douai; M. Conem, Mayor of Armentières; the Baron de la Grange; M. Tardieu, former Minister of the Liberated Regions; M. Louis Champy, Director-General of the Compagnie des Mines d'Anzin; M. C. Javary, Chef d'Exploitation of the Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Nord; the Secretary of the Compagnie des Chemins de Fer de l'Est; M. L. Rouquairol of Paris; Professor G. La Flize of the Lycée Henri IV; M. G. Marret of the Co-operative Reconstruction Society at Reims; the late

John Kendrick Bangs of the American Committee for Devastated France; the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris, and the New York Public Library.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Paris, January, 1922.

RECONSTRUCTION IN FRANCE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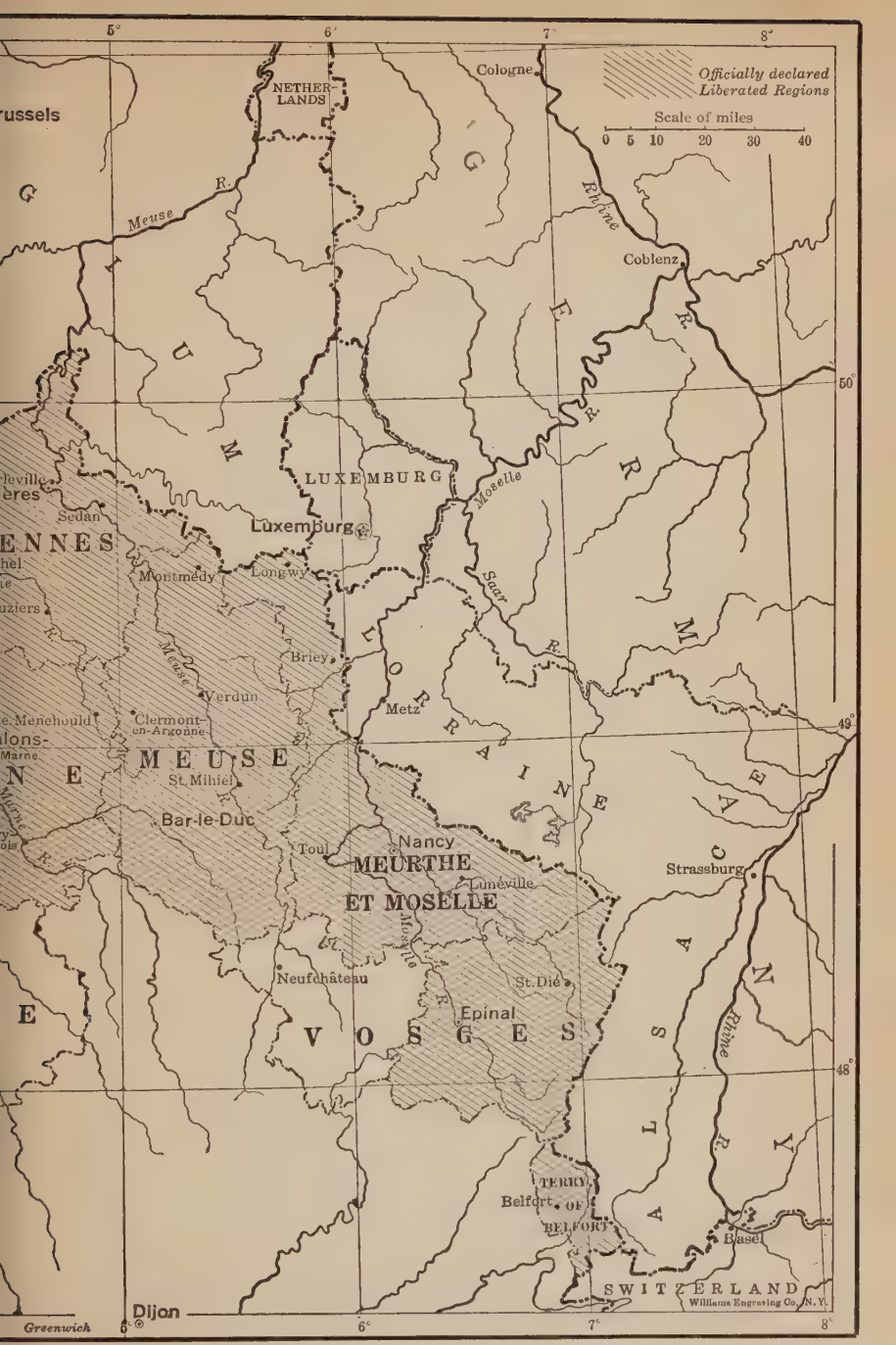
Officially declared Liberated Regions
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Metz
Clermont-en-Argonne
MEUSE
St. Mihiel
Bar-le-Duc
Nancy
Toul
MEURTHE ET MOSELLE
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Strassburg
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St. Dié
Epinal
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RECONSTRUCTION IN FRANCE

CHAPTER I

THE THEATER OF INVASION

An order of the Minister of the Liberated Regions issued on August 12, 1919, defined the limits of the devastated area of France as including:

1. All the territory invaded and temporarily occupied in force by the enemy for a period long enough to give it over to pillage and destruction, from the first advance of the Germans in 1914 to their last offensive in 1918.
2. The regions close to the front which had to be evacuated by the civil population under the pressure of war, and in which enemy bombardment, defensive measures, and conditions due to military operations resulted in the destruction of real or personal property or in other losses of any kind.
3. The regions adjoining those just mentioned which, without having been invaded or evacuated, nevertheless suffered in a general way from the operations of the war.

Laid down on the map, the invaded area thus defined comprises all the territory of France east or north of a line which, beginning with the coast line of the departments of the Nord, the Pas-de-Calais, and the Somme, follows thence the southern boundary of the Somme, the western and southern boundaries of the department of the Oise and of the arrondissements of

Meaux, Coulommiers, and Provins in the department of Seine-et-Marne, the southern boundary of the department of the Marne and the communes of Semoine, Mailly-le-Camp, and Poivres in the department of the Aube, the southern boundary of the department of the Meuse, the southern and western boundaries of the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, the southern and western boundaries of the arrondissements of Epinal and Remiremont in the department of the Vosges, and the southern and western boundaries of the territory of Belfort to the Swiss border.

The area included within the terms of the official definition, embracing twelve departments in whole or in part and the territory of Belfort, is considerably greater than the actual area of German occupation. To the west, the extreme limit of the German advance in 1918 extended only a short distance west of the narrow "peninsula of Armentières" which connects the two parts of the department of the Nord, and embraced about one-fourth of the department of the Pas-de-Calais and less than half of the department of the Somme. In the first German advance, in 1914, less than half of the departments of the Oise and Seine-et-Marne was occupied, and the department of the Aube was barely entered. The southern third and the extreme northern portion of the department of the Meuse escaped German occupation, as did all but the northeastern edge of the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle and the larger part of the department of the Vosges. The departments of the Seine, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Loire, Seine-Inférieure, Haute-Saône, Haute-Marne, and Doubs, in all of which the government has

been called upon to evaluate war damages,[1] also fall outside the invaded area as officially defined.

The order of August 12 offers no explanation of this discrepancy. What it does is to set apart for the administrative purposes of reconstruction a longer and compact area comprising twelve departments in whole or in part besides the territory of Belfort, which was not only given over as a whole to military occupation, either by the Germans or by the French and the Allies, but in which also the civil life was more or less completely suspended. The larger part of the Nord, the Pas-de-Calais, the Somme, and the Oise, for example, was in general completely disorganized by the war, notwithstanding the fact that scores of communes in those departments never saw a German soldier except as a prisoner and did not suffer from German guns. If confusion is to be avoided, however, the distinction between the official invaded area and the area which is popularly spoken of as devastated must constantly be kept in mind.[2]

The total area of the liberated regions as defined in the ministerial order of August 12 is upwards of 25,000 square miles, or somewhat less than one-eighth of the

[1] See, for example, the *Journal Officiel* (1918), 1,877, 2,212, 6,223, 9,119, 10,752; *ibid.* (1919), 317, 7,028, 7,179, 7,549, 10,925, 11,969.

[2] The order of August 12, 1919, was issued for the purpose of defining the territorial limits within which the law of April 17, 1919, relating to war damages, should be applied. The statement of limits in the law of April 17 is vague. A law of August 9, 1920, relating to the supply of bread for the country, defined the devastated regions as "those which, between January 1, 1915, and November 11, 1918, were occupied in a permanent or temporary way by the enemy, or which formed part of the fighting zone, or which, being situated in the immediate vicinity of the front, were evacuated under the pressure of war conditions." The Aube department is not generally regarded as forming part of the so-called liberated regions.

total area of France. The total area which at the close of the war required restoration to normal condition was 3,337,000 hectares, in English measure 8,245,727 acres or about 12,884 square miles. This latter area is somewhat larger than that of Holland, larger by nearly fifteen hundred square miles than that of Belgium, and a trifle greater than the combined areas of Massachusetts and Connecticut. At the date of the armistice, November 11, 1918, about one-half of this area was in a condition demanding little more than a comparatively simple clearing away of military equipment and débris; the remainder required extensive work, while for 116,640 hectares the estimated cost of restoration exceeded the value of the land.

The invasion of France in 1914-1918 differed radically in character and results from that which attended the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. In 1870-1871 the German armies, entering France from the east and northeast, encountered no serious obstacle except at Metz, and moved rapidly across the country to the siege of Paris. The fighting was of short duration, there was no general evacuation of the civil population, the destruction of public and private property of various kinds was small, and there was no serious injury to the soil, to means of transport, or to industry. In 1914-1918, on the other hand, the battle front traversed practically the entire breadth of northern France from the Channel to the Swiss border, advancing and receding over larger areas as one side or the other gained or lost; a considerable part of the invaded area was for more than four years in German hands, at the same time that the remainder was the

scene of military operations on an unprecedented scale by the French and the Allies; far the larger part of the civil population was either held within the German lines or evacuated to other parts of France; while to the inevitable losses of war was added a colossal weight of pillage and destruction deliberately aimed at the devastation of the country and the prostration of industry. Not since modern history began has Europe seen such widespread and comprehensive desolation as a result of war. The only comparable illustrations, and those on a small scale, are the ravages of the Thirty Years' war in Germany and the destruction which attended Sherman's march to the sea in the American Civil War.

Certain physiographical characteristics of the invaded departments, which determined to a considerable extent the course of the German invasion and the Allied defense, affected also the extent and character of the devastation wrought. The prompt action of the French in taking the offensive at the beginning of the war for the recovery of Alsace closed the Bourgogne gateway between the Vosges and the Jura mountains which gives access from the Rhine to the valleys of the Saône, the Meurthe, and the Moselle, at the same time that the close proximity of Switzerland rendered difficult a large German military operation in that quarter. The German advance, accordingly, at its greatest extension in 1918, penetrated only a little way beyond the eastern border of France and failed to reach the important cities of Lunéville and Nancy. On the other hand, the physical difficulties presented by the relatively high altitude and heavy forests of the Vosges

mountains impeded direct access to France at that point, and in consequence saved the forests themselves as a whole from serious injury. Only at a few points hotly contested were the trees shot to pieces as was so generally the case in the Argonne. Wherever the barrier which protected the valley of the Meuse could be penetrated, however, as at Pont-à-Mousson and thence to St. Mihiel, a succession of ruined towns and devastated country marked the progress of the conflict.

The strategic position of Verdun, at the center of the long range of hills and valleys known collectively as the Hauts-de-Meuse, marked that city and its defenses as a point about which was to be waged one of the most stubborn and bitter struggles of the war. The position of the German line, which in 1914 swept around Verdun on the east, the north, and the west like an inverted U, with the Meuse occupying the center, naturally meant the devastation of the narrow intervening area. Nowhere in France is there now to be seen a more vivid combination of rugged country dotted with the remains of forts and artillery emplacements, of soil torn by trenches, shell holes, and mine craters, and of forests shattered by shell fire and cities and villages in ruins. From whatever quarter one approaches Verdun, the ravages of war stand out on every hand.

A line drawn from Troyes, in the department of the Aube, northward through Reims to Valenciennes, marks roughly the division between the hilly wooded country of eastern France and the rolling hills and broad plains of the west. The Haute-Marne plateau west of the Vosges is connected with the broken region

of the Ardennes by the rough and wooded Argonne, and both the Argonne and the Ardennes saw some of the hardest fighting of the war.

Further north the physical configuration of the country offered no obstacles to invasion from the Belgian side, and it was through this wide northern gateway that the German armies poured in the greatest numbers and the most powerful streams into the Aisne, the Somme, the Oise, and the Marne. By September, 1914, the German advance had reached Meaux, thirty miles from Paris, and extended eastward from Meaux toward Châlons-sur-Marne and the Argonne and westward toward Senlis and Beauvais. The battle of the Marne, which forced the entire German line back beyond the river, was followed by a series of operations which turned the whole region west of the Argonne and south of the Belgian frontier as far as Arras and Amiens, and thence south to Compiègne and Château-Thierry, into one vast battlefield, at the same time that the resistance at Verdun was being maintained.

The Marne battle was followed in 1915 by the battle of Champagne, in the region immediately west of the Argonne and north of Châlons-sur-Marne. The battle of the Somme, east of Amiens, in 1916 was followed in 1917 by the battle of the Aisne in the region north of Château-Thierry. In 1918 the German front, which in consequence of these various operations had been pushed back beyond the river Aisne, regained for a time a large part of what had been lost, only to be checked in its advance and pressed steadily backward again until the armistice of November brought a suspension of hostilities.

The first months of the war witnessed also the Ger-

man occupation of more than half of the department of the Nord and a considerable portion of the Pas-de-Calais. The region of which Arras was the center saw the three Artois battles of 1916, and was again the scene of hard fighting the following year. The German front, which in 1915 ran south from Ypres through Armentières and La Bassée to Arras, reached in 1918 almost to Hazebrouck, and the Armentières peninsula remained a "red zone" throughout the war.

It is in the broad area west of the Haute-Marne, the Argonne, the Ardennes, and the Belgian border, and north of Meaux and the Marne to Armentières, that the destruction wrought by the war is still to be seen at its greatest extent and in its most appalling dreariness. The advances and recessions of a battle line more than two hundred miles long, the thrusts and counter-thrusts of invaders and defenders, the struggles for the control of rivers, railways, and highways, the fierce fighting over strategic positions and the stubborn defense of every city or village where a stand could be made, were of themselves enough, without the added weight of a deliberate destruction, to turn large parts of the country into a desert and to leave of civilization only a memory and a name. If the war made familiar to the world the names of Armentières, Lens, Arras, Péronne, St. Quentin, Soissons, Reims, and St. Ménehould, it is also true that because these communities, like hundreds of others of lesser fame, were long in the thickest of the fighting they were all but completely ruined. Not all of the destruction, of course, was the work of the enemy, save as responsibility attaches to the enemy as the aggressor; for what one

army did not overrun had often to suffer from the operations of the other, and it was as disastrous to a town or a farmhouse to dislodge an invader as it was to resist an attack.

The broken and wooded region of northeastern France, physiographically a part of the same area to which Alsace and Lorraine belong, is often strikingly picturesque. The western part of the invaded area, on the other hand, while by no means wanting in physiographical interest, lacks picturesqueness. It is a region of broad valleys only slightly elevated above the sea, separated by long rolling hills over which the plain sweeps easily in a succession of low waves. In the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais, where the hills flatten out, the broad expanses of level country bear a striking resemblance to the grain areas of the United States and western Canada. The river basin of the Seine, which includes those of the Marne, the Oise, and the Aisne, comprises more than 30,000 square miles of territory, and is the most important network of navigable rivers in France. An extensive system of canals, connecting and in some cases paralleling the rivers, gives access from the sea to practically the whole interior.

The total population of the departments included in the ministerial order of August 12, 1919, was in 1911 about 7,000,000, or more than one-seventh of the total population of France. The estimated population in 1914 of the region actually invaded or devastated was 4,690,183, or about one-eighth of the total population of France in 1911 and three-fifths of the total population of the invaded departments. With the exception

of Nancy, which had in 1911 a population of 119,949, and Reims, whose population at the same date numbered 115,178, the largest centers of population were to be found in the industrial and mining regions of the north and west, where Lille, the largest city in the invaded area, had 217,807, the neighboring cities of Roubaix and Tourcoing 122,723 and 82,644 respectively, Valenciennes 34,766, Douai 36,314, Armentières 28,625, Lens 31,812, Arras 20,080, and Amiens 93,207. Three large maritime cities—Calais with 72,322 inhabitants, Dunkerque with 38,891, and Boulogne-sur-Mer with 53,128—lie outside the zone of land operations. Elsewhere the cities were small. With the exception of Reims, the only cities whose population exceeded 20,000 in 1911 were St. Quentin with 55,571, Châlons-sur-Marne with 31,367, Maubeuge with 23,209, Charleville with 22,654, Epernay with 21,811, and Verdun with 21,701. Of the 3,524 communes occupied by the Germans, 95 per cent. were communities of a few hundred or one or two thousand inhabitants each. Everywhere, even in the industrial and mining centers, the population was overwhelmingly French in origin, speech, and allegiance.

The predominant industry of the invaded departments was agriculture. Of the 3,337,000 hectares in the devastated zone, 2,164,727 hectares were under cultivation in 1914 and 406,330 hectares were in pasturage. Even in the immediate vicinity of the industrial or mining towns the arable land was put to use, and the fertile valleys of the eastern departments were everywhere in crops or in pasturage. The coal region of the north has been likened to a great city whose quarters were separated by well-cultivated fields.

This agricultural development was a natural consequence of physiographical conditions. Throughout the plain and rolling country of the center, the north, and the west the soil is generally fertile and the climate moist and moderately warm. Most of the grains of the temperate zone—wheat, barley, rye, oats, etc.—thrive throughout the region, and northwestern France in particular was a granary which skillful and intensive cultivation had developed to the utmost. Before the war France was second only to Russia among European countries in the production of wheat, nearly one-half of the cereal acreage being devoted to that crop, while of the remaining acreage about one-half was devoted to oats. To the production of grain was also added a considerable production of hay, flax, hemp, and hops. In the Nord, the Pas-de-Calais, the Somme, the Oise, and the Aisne the production of sugar beets was an industry of prime importance, and the wines of Champagne had an established reputation. The development of market gardening, on the other hand, in spite of the presence of industrial cities and the proximity of Paris, had not attained large dimensions, and fruit growing for market was mainly confined to the northwest.

It should be remembered, however, that large scale farming is not the predominant characteristic of French agriculture. Even in the grain-growing regions of the Nord, where the wheat fields extend for miles on either hand, farms of more than fifty hectares are rare and farms of ten hectares or less are the rule. It is this system of small farms, cultivated in the great majority of cases by their owners and subject to further and repeated subdivisions under the operation of

the French law of inheritance, which predominates throughout the invaded area. With such a system the production of staples in large quantities by individual proprietors is impossible, hand labor holds its own against elaborate and expensive machinery, crop areas are small even to diminutiveness, and the farm tends to become and to remain a little self-supporting unit upon which the larger part of what is produced is consumed. The variety of products is considerable, but the quantity of each product is small and comparatively little is raised primarily for sale.

It is this predominance of small farms with intensive cultivation and a varied production which explains in large part the peculiar attachment of the French peasant and small proprietor to his land, the deep sense of loss which is felt when buildings, orchards, or fields are injured even as a result of war, and the ineradicable desire to return even when everything above ground has been destroyed and the soil itself for the time being put out of use. It was less because the farm was, in any ordinary financial sense, a business or a source of profit than because it was his home, the home of his ancestors and the property which he would leave to his children, that the farmer whom the war drove out refused in most cases even to think of beginning life again elsewhere, and set himself resolutely to make good, with government aid or without it, the loss which he had sustained. There is no understanding of the problem of reconstruction in France unless one takes into account at the outset the invincible attachment of the farmer to his land.

Approximately one-eighth of the devastated area

was in forests, including in this classification the woodland privately owned as well as the forests owned and cultivated by the state or by local communities. Of the latter, those of Compiègne, St. Gobain, west of Laon, and Reims, between that city and Epernay, were the most important in the south, and those of the Argonne and the Vosges in the east. The region south of Soissons, between Villers-Cotterets, Château-Thierry, and Epernay—between the German fronts of 1915 and 1917 to the north and the extreme limit of the German advance of 1918 to the south—is also extensively wooded. The northern and western regions, on the other hand, possess few forests of special consequence except those of the Avesnes area, in the extreme eastern portion of the department of the Nord.

The developed mineral wealth of devastated France consisted principally of coal and iron. The coal basin of the north, in the department of the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais, extends from Valenciennes westward to Denain, Douai, Lens, and Béthune. Of the various concessions under which the mines are worked that of Anzin, near Valenciennes, is the largest. About 55 per cent. of the total annual coal production of France was furnished by the invaded departments. The iron deposits are in the east. Before the loss of Lorraine, in 1871, the mines of the then department of the Moselle occupied the first place in the production of iron ore; and in spite of the territorial losses which were sustained, the present department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, representing what was left to France of the former departments of the Meurthe and the Moselle, furnished before the war more than nine-tenths of the

total ore production of France, and is in fact one of the chief ore-producing regions of the world. The production of roofing slates, mainly in the Ardennes, was surpassed in value only by that of Great Britain.

In 1914 there were, in the devastated zone, 20,539 industrial establishments of all kinds. About 70 per cent. of the plants were to be found in the Nord, the Pas-de-Calais, and the Somme, 10 per cent. in the Aisne, and somewhat less than 10 per cent. in the Ardennes, the Meuse, Meurthe-et-Moselle, and the Vosges. Besides coal and iron ore, the zone is estimated to have produced before the war 94 per cent. of the total annual production in France of woolen goods, 90 per cent. of the linen thread, 80 per cent. of the pig iron, 70 per cent. of the sugar, and 60 per cent. of the cotton goods. It also generated 45 per cent. of the electric power.[1] Included in the varied list of manufactures which had attained substantial development were hats, paper, pipes, biscuits, furniture, cement, bricks, tiles, pottery, glass, and chemicals. The Nord had also an important brewing industry.

The transport needs of the region were met by a network of railways, canals, and highways. The main lines of railway, grouped chiefly in two systems, those of the Nord and the Est companies, and radiating from Paris to the frontiers of Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany, were supplemented not only by branch lines and by numerous short lines of private companies but also by hundreds of kilometres of local narrow-gauge lines. All of the larger cities had electric-tramway systems and suburban and interurban service was

[1] A. Tardieu, *The Truth about the Treaty*, 378.

growing. The extent of the transport system may be gathered from the fact that 2,404 kilometres of railway main lines and branches, 906 kilometres of local lines, 1,036 kilometres of navigable waterways, and 52,734 kilometres of highways were in need of reconstruction or repair at the close of the war.[1]

The briefest survey of the departments upon which in August, 1914, the great war descended in all its frightfulness would be incomplete if it failed to take note of the wealth of historical and artistic interest which the region held. The ancient province of Champagne, united finally to the kingdom of France in 1361, was in general coextensive with the present departments of the Marne, Haute-Marne, and Aube, the eastern part of the Seine-et-Marne, and various small portions of the Meuse and the Aisne. By 1789 it had

[1] Numerous estimates of the injury done to the devastated departments have been published. The following data, prepared by "the head of one of the great French banks" and published in the circular of the National City Bank of New York for August, 1920, may be compared with the figures given in this chapter. According to this authority the invaded part of France paid in 1913 a revenue of 800,000,000 francs, out of a total revenue of 5,100,000,000 francs collected by the government. The same territory also represented 14 per cent. of the total French production of wheat, 47 per cent. of the sugar, 55 per cent. of the flax, 74 per cent. of the coal, 92 per cent. of the iron ore, 81 per cent. of the iron, 60 per cent. of the steel, 20 per cent. of the tools, machinery, etc., 80 per cent. of the woolen products, 70 per cent. of the cotton products, and 20 per cent. of the export trade. The considerable differences, often irreconcilable, between these various estimates may perhaps be explained by the fact that the figures for the same year are not necessarily those of the same date within the year, or by the habit of making exhibits in round numbers rather than in exact figures, or by the mixing of official and unofficial estimates, or by basing the calculation at one time upon the entire area under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions and at another time upon the smaller area actually invaded. Even the official estimates, including those apparently based upon detailed enumeration, show a good many variations in detail which cannot easily be explained.

come to include also the department of the Ardennes. Conquered by the Romans, traces of whose occupation survived at Reims, Laon, and elsewhere, and Christianized in the latter half of the third century, it suffered from the invasions of the Vandals and the Huns, and upon the withdrawal of the Roman authority came under the rule of Clovis, the chief of the Franks, who embraced Christianity and was baptized at Reims in 496. Numerous partitions of the province, attended with frequent wars, followed. In 814 Louis "the Debonnaire" was crowned at Reims; Charles the Simple was made prisoner at St. Quentin and imprisoned at Château-Thierry and later at Péronne, where he died in 929. Reims, one of the most prosperous cities of Roman Gaul, was also from the time of the Capetians the place at which all but two of the early kings of France were crowned. The emancipation of the communes of Champagne from feudal control began at the end of the twelfth century, the charter of Beaumen-en-Argonne, granted by the archbishop of Reims, serving as a model.

The Hundred Years' war between England and France (1327-1453) was disastrous for Champagne. English troops under the Prince of Wales ravaged the country from Epernay to Vitry and Châlons-sur-Marne in 1368, and the attacks were repeated in 1370 and 1373. Meaux was sacked by the English, after an heroic defense, in 1421. The tide turned in 1429 when Jeanne d'Arc, a native of Champagne, having inspired the French to free Orléans, led Charles VII to Reims, where he was consecrated. The peace of 1453, which ended a struggle in which the English lost all the terri-

tory claimed by them in France except Calais, was followed by ninety years of much needed quiet. Then, in 1544, in the war between Francis I of France and Charles V of Spain, Vitry was burned by the Spanish forces, Epernay taken, and Château-Thierry pillaged. Peace was concluded the same year at Crépy, near Laon, and a new Vitry-le-François was built by the king to replace the Vitry which had been destroyed. The country was again ravaged in the religious wars of the sixteenth century.

There is hardly an important city in the whole invaded area whose origin, like that of the cities of Champagne, does not lie far back in the centuries in which what ultimately became the kingdom of France was being formed, while more than one had witnessed the struggles of the Napoleonic wars or the entrance of German troops in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. Soissons, which became in 511 the capital of the kingdom of Neustria and "the cradle of the Frankish monarchy," was bombarded by the Germans for four days in 1870 before it surrendered. Laon, an ancient Roman city and later the seat of the last Carolingian kings, was held by the English from 1410 to 1429, and blew up its powder magazine in the citadel when the Germans entered in 1870. Reims was an ecclesiastical as well as a political center, no less than four church councils, those of 1049, 1119, 1131, and 1148, having assembled there. At Verdun, another Roman city, was concluded the agreement or treaty of 843 by which Charles the Great divided his empire between his three sons, Lothaire, Louis, and Charles. In the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, which ended the Thirty Years'

war, Austria renounced in favor of France its claim to the three ancient bishoprics of Verdun, Toul, and Metz. Verdun was bombarded by the Germans in 1870 and surrendered only with the honors of war. Metz was besieged and taken by the Germans in 1870 a few weeks after the surrender of Napoleon III at Sedan. By the peace of Lunéville, in 1801, between France, Germany, and Austria, the boundary of France was extended to the Rhine, where it remained until the Franco-Prussian war gave Alsace and Lorraine, including Metz, to Germany.

Of equal interest historically are the cities of the Oise, the Somme, the Pas-de-Calais, and the Nord. Compiègne, long a favorite residence of the French kings, was also the place at which Jeanne d'Arc, in 1430, was made prisoner by the Bourgondians, who turned her over to the English. Noyon was a Roman city, later the scene of the consecration of Charles the Great in 768 and of the election of Hugh Capet in 987. The history of St. Quentin goes back to the latter part of the first century. It was occupied by the Spanish in 1557, and was the scene of an important French defeat in 1871. The latter year witnessed also the defeat of a French army at Bapaume. Lille, the ancient capital of French Flanders, was ceded to France definitely by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, after having been besieged and taken by Louis XIV in 1667 and retaken by the armies of Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough in 1708. Valenciennes, whose beginnings tradition ascribes to the Roman emperor Valentinian, was taken by Louis XIV in 1677, and suffered bombardment and capture by the

allied British and Prussians in 1815. Amiens, a Gaulish city which Cæsar reduced to subjection and later the capital of the ancient province of Picardy, was occupied at different periods by the Normans, the Spanish, the English, and the French before Henry IV of France, in 1597, incorporated it finally in his kingdom. In 1802, by the peace of Amiens, England ceased for the time being its war with revolutionary France and Bonaparte, and recognized the territorial changes that had been made.

An experience similar to that of Amiens characterized the history of Arras, capital of the ancient province of Artois, which was claimed in turn by the Dukes of Burgundy, the Counts of Flanders, the Holy Roman Empire, and Spain before passing finally to France in 1640. Two international agreements perpetuate the name of Cambrai: that of 1508, in which the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII of France, Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, and Pope Julius II formed a league against Venice, and the so-called Ladies' Peace of 1529 between the Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France.

To richness of historical association is also to be added, although in less abundant measure, richness of artistic interest. The cathedrals of Arras, Amiens, Soissons, Cambrai, Noyon, Reims, and Laon, the palace or château at Compiègne, the city halls at St. Quentin, Compiègne, Soissons, Reims, and Valenciennes, and numerous parish churches and public buildings were architectural monuments representative alike of the history, the art, and the spirit of northern France. Numerous museums and libraries housed

valuable collections of paintings, sculpture, furniture, manuscripts, and early printed books. Couey-le-Château, still picturesque in spite of the added ruin which the war imposed upon it, was one of the most notable feudal monuments in western Europe. The artistic significance of domestic architecture also, particularly in the older cities, often preserving in façade or portal or roof the characteristics of a period or a school, is not to be overlooked.

A brief reference should perhaps be made to the political organization of France, since the administrative system whose operations must often be discussed in the pages which follow differs very much from that which obtains in either England or the United States. Each department is divided into arrondissements, the arrondissement into cantons, and the canton into communes. The chief administrative official of the department is the prefect (*préfet*), appointed from Paris and subject to removal or transfer at the discretion of the President of the Republic, who acts through the Minister of the Interior. With the prefect is associated a council (*conseil de préfecture*), and a sub-prefect (*sous-préfet*), for each arrondissement or sub-prefecture (*sous-préfecture*). The administration of the commune, subject to the prefect, is vested in a municipal council (*conseil municipal*), which chooses one of its number as mayor (*maire*). There is also in each department a general council (*conseil général*), with as many members as there are cantons in the department, and in each arrondissement a *conseil d'arrondissement*, with as many members as there are cantons in the arrondissement. Each department is

represented in the Senate by a number of senators, and in the Chamber of Deputies by a number of deputies, apportioned in each case according to population. In comparison with the United States or England the administration is highly centralized, and there is in practice little local independence, virtually every action of the commune, the canton, or the arrondissement requiring the approval of the prefect, who is himself minutely controlled from Paris.

Such was the region, rich in history and tradition and in agricultural, industrial, and commercial development, upon which the great war fell like a bolt from a clear sky.

CHAPTER II

WHAT THE WAR DID

For more than four years and three months, from August, 1914, to November, 1918, the present devastated zone of France underwent the experience of war. No considerable part of the zone, including the territory within twenty or thirty miles of the German front, was long free during that entire period from active military operations. Far the larger part of the zone, moreover, was continuously occupied by the Germans from the beginning of the war until the armistice; and while long-continued enemy occupation of an invaded region does not of itself necessarily mean undue injury to private or public property, it makes possible, once a régime of destruction is entered upon, a more systematic and general devastation than would be likely otherwise to take place. A very large part of the injury which the invaded departments suffered was of a comprehensive and systematic character, carefully planned and thoroughly executed. Much of the injury which was caused by the Germans served no proper military purpose and was the result of no military necessity, but aimed rather to break the morale of the French and cripple the country for years to come. Some of it was wanton, the work of lawlessness in uniform. Some portion, doubtless, was acci-

dental. The rest was the inevitable result of war. Morally and sentimentally these various categories can be discriminated, and they must be so discriminated where questions of responsibility are involved. For purposes of reconstruction, on the other hand, they all stand upon the same plane.

The casual traveler who flits across the devastated area in an automobile or a railway train is likely to receive a vivid but conglomerate impression of ruined houses and churches, fields scarred by trenches and shell holes, treetops shot to pieces, heaps of barbed wire or other débris cumbering the ground, abandoned locomotives and railway cars, lines of rusty railway track overgrown with grass and weeds, and innumerable temporary houses and barraques. The impression is accurate enough and is certainly one not soon to be forgotten, but it nevertheless gives hardly more than a superficial idea of the character and extent of the injury which the war entailed, or of the novelty and complexity of the problems which the rehabilitation of the devastated zone presented. Not only is it true that no modern war has been attended by such general and thoroughgoing destruction of property, but it is also true that in no war has the task of restoration been so vast, so difficult, and so involved.

Down to the time of the armistice, in November, 1918, 3,524 communes had been occupied by the enemy, and 805 communes not actually occupied had been evacuated by the civil population on account of the war.[1] Of this number 1,039 were completely de-

[1] The statistics in this and the following chapters, unless otherwise noted, are those prepared by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions.

stroyed, 1,235 were more than 50 per cent. injured, and the larger part of the remainder were injured to a greater or less extent. In the 4,329 communes occupied or evacuated, 293,039 dwellings were destroyed and 435,961 seriously injured. The number of public buildings—town halls, schools, churches, etc.—destroyed was 6,147, while the number which suffered serious injury was 10,731. In 3,256 communes the municipal life was suspended, either completely as a result of the destruction of the commune and the evacuation of its inhabitants, or more or less completely in consequence of military occupation.

The injury to buildings took every conceivable form. Of some small communes it was almost literally true that not one stone was left upon another, and cases were not uncommon in which owners who returned after the armistice were unable to locate the boundaries of their properties. Guides still point to grass-grown areas of rough ground where once stood a village of which not a stone is now visible, and the Vosges, the Marne, and the Somme contain villages which exist to-day only in the form of stone heaps or jagged fragments of walls. Of many other buildings only the foundations were left, and in many instances even foundations were broken down or blown to pieces. The buildings which were not leveled to the ground presented injuries of the greatest variety. Some retained only fragments of their walls, the roofs and the entire interior construction having been destroyed. With some the outer walls were in the main intact, but roofs and partition walls were gone. Others still boasted a roof, but torn and almost ruined by bom-

bardment. In some the interior had been burned out, leaving only the shell. The collapse of walls and roofs often carried with it the floors, and the interior, even where fire had destroyed everything combustible, was still a tangled mass of stone, brick, mortar, and twisted metal.

There were important or curious exceptions, of course. Proportionately, it was usually the smallest communes that suffered most. Even with them, however, cases were not wanting in which a part only of the village was destroyed or in which a few houses, a church, or a public building somehow survived the wreck. In the larger cities the devastation as a rule was less general. Many houses and other buildings in Verdun escaped serious injury notwithstanding the long siege, and the cathedral, the most conspicuous object in the city, escaped demolition while near-by property was destroyed. The older part of Laon, picturesquely located on the top of a high plateau commanding a superb view of the country for miles around, bears comparatively few scars of war, and the most serious injury to the great cathedral was a large hole in the roof. At Lille, destruction was mainly confined to a comparatively small area in the heart of the city, while at Valenciennes it centered about the railway station. The injuries to Amiens were not considerable, and extensive areas of Arras remained essentially intact in spite of the almost complete devastation wrought in other quarters. At Armentières neither walls nor roofs were generally destroyed, although disfigurement and minor injury were widely spread. At Lens, on the other hand, fire and bom-

bardment made a clean sweep; no city in the devastated zone is so fitly to be characterized as the abomination of desolation. Of the center of Béthune there survives little more than a ruined tower, while at Albert scarcely a building of any kind was left in a condition to afford shelter to animal or man.

With the destruction of dwellings and public buildings went also, as a rule, the destruction of shops, mills, factories, mines, and industrial establishments of all kinds. The number of industrial establishments partially or totally destroyed was about twenty thousand. Many small industries which for statistical purposes must be classified as industrial establishments were carried on in buildings which also served in part as dwellings, but the 8,792 industries which in 1914 employed more than ten workmen each, and especially the 5,297 establishments with more than twenty workers each, probably represent in most cases separate buildings or groups of buildings and include many large and expensive plants. The destruction of buildings was only a part, and often only the smaller part, of the industrial loss, the remainder including machinery, tools, equipment, and appliances of every kind, most of which were either entirely destroyed or else rendered useless by the destruction of essential parts. With the loss of buildings and machinery went also, in most cases, heavy losses of raw materials, stocks, and finished products. In the case of the mines not only were all the machinery and buildings above ground, including hoists, ventilating systems, and railways, generally crippled or destroyed, but the stopping or destruction of the pumps allowed the mines to

fill with water, thereby weakening or destroying the interior fittings of pits and passages. The same sweep of destruction stopped the supply of electric light and power and put an end to the use of gas. Many of the larger industrial establishments were fortunately able to save their records, but in some the records were destroyed along with the buildings.

The supreme importance of transportation for military purposes saved the railways of the invaded area from the complete destruction which was visited upon towns, factories, and mines, and even led to the construction of many miles of new railway for military use. Every kilometre of railway in the war zone, on the other hand, was worn almost to the point of uselessness as the result of extraordinary traffic and the inability to make ordinary repairs, and lines were repeatedly cut and stations, terminals, bridges, and tunnels destroyed or seriously injured as the fortunes of war exposed them to attack. The withdrawal of the enemy as an advance was checked and lines pushed back was often accompanied by a systematic wrecking of the railways. Local lines as a rule ceased to operate, or were operated only for military purposes. At the date of the armistice 2,404 kilometres of railway belonging to the Nord and Est systems were in need of more or less complete restoration, and 1,503 stations, bridges, tunnels, and structures of various kinds were in ruins. Of the local lines, 2,385 kilometres of track were unfit for use and 906 buildings, bridges, etc., had been destroyed or seriously injured. The loss of rolling stock on all lines was very great, and much of the equipment that remained at the end of the war was

worn beyond the point of safety. For most practical purposes the entire railway mileage of the devastated zone, when not actually destroyed, required to be rebuilt from the foundation.

Highways, canals, and navigable rivers also suffered. In addition to the blowing up of bridges, which as a rule put a stop to transport by water at the same time that it interrupted transport by road, the highways were torn to pieces by shell fire and mines and worn deep with holes and ruts by heavy automobiles, guns, and tanks. The highways which required to be repaired or rebuilt aggregated at the date of the armistice 52,734 kilometres. To this is to be added the restoration of 3,220 bridges, culverts, or other structures.[1] Of the canals and navigable streams, 1,036 kilometres required to be dredged, or cleared of obstructions such as guns, wagons, fallen bridges, or sunken boats, and 1,120 locks, landing places, or other structures had to be restored.

To this destruction or serious impairment of houses, public buildings, factories, mines, and transport equipment is to be added unprecedented injury to the soil itself. An enormous mass of defensive works and military equipment cumbered the surface of the devastated zone from one end to the other and extended far beyond the limits of actual fighting. Hills, valleys, plains, and forests were crossed with long lines of trenches, barbed wire, and light railways. Hillsides, railway embankments, and roadside ditches were dotted with caves or huts or gun emplacements, while

[1] Such structures are known in French railway nomenclature as *objets d'art*.

hardly a hectare of land could be found that was not thickly sprinkled with shell holes. Exploding mines and ammunition dumps tore deep rents in the ground and scattered rock and subsoil in all directions. Everywhere the soil was shot full of shells, bombs, and grenades, some still protruding through the surface, others buried in the ground ready to explode if struck by plow or spade. Large areas were to be seen, for example, about Verdun or east of Reims and at Vimy, in which the whole of the surface soil had been blown off by mines and gunfire and the subsoil and underlying rock exposed. Poisonous gases intended to kill men also killed vegetation, and the soil was impregnated with chemicals the nature or duration of whose effects upon the various soil products was unknown.

Throughout the whole area, moreover, were scattered vast military camps and prodigious aggregations of war material. Houses and barraques of wood, iron, stone, brick or concrete, huge hangars for aëroplanes, stables for horses and mules, repair shops, ammunition dumps, and temporary hospitals dotted the landscape from the Vosges to the sea and from the Marne to the Belgian frontier. Hospital trains, fleets of canal boats converted into hospitals or dressing stations, locomotives, freight and passenger cars, automobile trucks, and wagons of every description were to be measured only by the thousand or by the mile. To the numerous ammunition depots were to be added great accumulations of forage and food, barbed wire, lumber and rods for concrete construction, the curved and corrugated sections of the famous Nissen huts, and portable sections of light railway. Everywhere, too, was the

wreckage and débris of war—abandoned buildings, stranded tanks and guns, ruined or outworn cars and locomotives, tangled masses of barbed wire and twisted metal, and the desolate graves of the dead.

The trees suffered with the soil. Some state forests had been cut to furnish timber and fuel for the French and Allied armies. Naked tree trunks bereft of branches testified to the ravages of artillery fire, and numberless trunks had been uprooted. Great numbers of trees had been killed by gas or by shell shock, while many more had lost all value as lumber by reason of shell splinters or bullets imbedded in their trunks. The Argonne forest and the broad wooded areas of the Armentières peninsula still look as if some gigantic harrow had swept over them, tearing branches from the trunks and roots from the soil. Peculiarly distressing was the wanton felling of orchards in certain areas of German occupation, especially in the Somme and the Aisne, and the destruction of shade trees which lined the long, straight highways.

Of the 3,337,000 hectares in the devastated zone, 2,164,727 hectares were under cultivation in 1914, 406,330 hectares were in pasturage, and 577,973 hectares in woodland or forest. Practically every hectare had to be carefully gone over, surface incumbrances removed, and unexploded metal extracted. There were 333,000,000 cubic metres of trenches and holes to be filled, and 373,000,000 square metres of barbed wire to lift and remove. The mass of munitions of all kinds to be destroyed reached the enormous aggregate of more than 21,000,000 tons. The war had completely destroyed 29,851 wells, and 91,257 other wells were in

need of repair. Nowhere in the region could water safely be used for drinking or culinary purposes until wells had been disinfected and the water analyzed.

The destruction of houses usually involved the loss of the whole or of large parts of the furnishings and other contents. Farmers as a rule lost their implements and crops, and shopkeepers their stocks. 523,000 oxen and cows, 469,000 sheep and goats, and 367,000 horses, asses, and mules are estimated to have been carried away by the Germans down to November 11, 1918.

Account must also be taken, in estimating the total of material injury caused by the war, of the injury and deterioration which were suffered by private and public buildings used by the French or the Allies for military purposes. Large numbers of hotels, private houses, country châteaux and other properties were commandeered by the army and turned into offices, clubs, living quarters, guest houses for visitors, journalists, or government officials, canteens, hospitals, and the like. In most cases the personal property of the owners appears to have been removed before military occupancy began, but necessary alterations, extraordinary wear and tear, and carelessness left most of the buildings in need of extensive repairs. The government properly classes all such damages as war damages, the same as if they had been caused by the enemy. Buildings occupied by the Germans for similar purposes sometimes received a measure of consideration when towns were destroyed, but as a rule no distinction appears to have been made.

So much for the material losses of the war. How

fared it with the people and with the structure of government and administration?

In the more than 3,500 communes which were occupied by the Germans practically all forms of civil administration were suspended or abolished and military rule was substituted. No elections were held, no taxes were levied or collected, and military police replaced the municipal agents and the gendarmerie. Civil officials continued to hold a naked legal title in their offices, so far as French law and the French government were concerned, even when they were removed from office by the Germans, but civil government as a whole ceased to function save as the military authority from time to time saw fit to use it for administrative purposes. Where a commune was destroyed or rendered uninhabitable even this vestige of civil organization, of course, disappeared.

A similar condition, so far as the supremacy of military control was concerned, was to be found in the communes which were occupied by the French or the Allies, but with the important difference that there the civil government was everywhere respected, and its operations were allowed to continue so far as was compatible with the necessities of war. Even where a commune was destroyed, the mayor or some other official often remained at his post, representing in his own person the civil authority of France. The mayor was the only civil functionary, and almost the only civilian inhabitant, to be found in the ruined commune of Clermont-en-Argonne when I visited it in March, 1917. Throughout the military zone, however, communication by telegraph, telephone, or post was al-

lowed only under military censorship, travel from town to town was either prohibited altogether or subjected to serious restrictions, and no civilian could enter or leave the zone without special permission.

The first advance of the Germans, in 1914, was the signal for a wild and disorderly rush of the civil population for safety. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children, many of them with only such personal belongings as could be carried in their hands or on their backs, poured along the roads that led toward Paris or crowded the railway trains that would take them anywhere. Hastily organized relief societies in Paris and elsewhere, aided by the government, worked heroically to supply food, shelter, clothing, and medical attendance to the confused and helpless refugees. When, after the first months of war, the German line was pushed back, many of the people returned and attempted to reëstablish their homes and resume their wonted occupations, only to be driven out again when the German front once more advanced. Later, thanks to the army and the railways, the evacuation of civilians took on a more orderly character. The larger number of the refugees were eventually transported to Brittany, Normandy, or central and southern France, where they were distributed in quotas roughly proportioned to the population of the departments and communes which received them, and where government allowances and private charity contributed somewhat to their support. A central employment office for the placing of unemployed and refugees was opened at Paris in November, 1914. Some hundreds of thousands of civilians, on the other hand, were unable to

leave the war zone, and remained virtually prisoners within the German lines throughout the war.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the so-called "liberated regions," as officially defined, include considerable areas to which the German invasion did not actually extend but which were nevertheless subjected to disorganization and loss. A comparison of the different departments shows interesting and important variations in the burden of injury and devastation which the war imposed.[1]

The department of the Nord, one of the smallest of the invaded departments in area but the leading department in population and in the value of its industrial and agricultural production, had in 1911 a population of 1,961,780. Of this number 758,000 were driven out. 501 communes were devastated, 1,555 schools destroyed, 50,010 houses completely destroyed, and 101,292 houses destroyed in part. The total area devastated was 500,000 hectares, or about four-fifths of the area of the department, 268,808 hectares of this amount being arable land. 244,000 head of livestock were carried off, 11,814 industrial establishments were wholly or partially destroyed, and 7,578 kilometres of road torn up.

The adjacent department of the Pas-de-Calais is larger by about one thousand square kilometres than the Nord, but had in 1911 less than two-thirds of the

[1] The figures which follow, except those of population for 1911, are taken from A. Tardieu, *The Truth about the Treaty*, 378-381. M. Tardieu was Minister of the Liberated Regions from November, 1919, to January, 1920. Some of the figures appear to be approximate round numbers, and the statistics as a whole differ in detail from those compiled or revised later by the same ministry, but they are nevertheless sufficiently accurate for purposes of comparison.

population. A little more than one-half of the population, or 581,000, was to be found in the war zone in 1914, and of this number 460,000 were driven out and 367 communes were destroyed. The houses completely destroyed numbered 70,634, those partially destroyed 36,480, and schools 554. Other losses included 1,560 industrial establishments wholly or partially destroyed, 7,840 kilometres of road in need of rebuilding, and 124,000 head of livestock carried off. On the other hand the devastated area of 267,000 hectares, 138,082 hectares of which was arable land, comprised less than two-fifths of the total area of the department.

The department of the Somme, which saw much of the hardest fighting of the war, shows striking irregularities in the character and extent of its losses. Of its population of 520,161 in 1911, 281,000 were found in the war zone in 1914, and of that number all save a thousand were driven out. 448 communes and 596 schools were destroyed, 40,335 houses were completely destroyed and 18,766 destroyed in part, and 1,099 industrial establishments suffered in whole or in part. The livestock carried off numbered 140,000 head, and 7,144 kilometres of road required to be rebuilt. The land area of 400,000 hectares requiring restoration, on the other hand, was only about three-fifths of the total area of the department, while of the total devastated surface only 190,700 hectares was arable land.

Only about two-sevenths of the total area of the Oise, or 170,000 hectares, was devastated; of this 107,332 hectares was arable land. On the other hand, while less than two-sevenths of the population of 1911, or 112,398, were to be found in the invaded area in 1914,

96,000 of that number were forced to withdraw. The record of destruction, complete or partial, included 263 communes, 260 schools, 24,395 houses, of which 8,745 were entirely destroyed, 283 industrial establishments, and 2,688 kilometres of highway. The loss in cattle carried off was 78,000 head.

So far as the area of devastation is concerned, the Aisne came the nearest to complete obliteration. Of its 2,868 square miles of area, approximately 2,660 square miles were devastated, only the extreme southern edge of the department being spared. The wave of war destroyed 814 communes, 1,224 schools, 55,268 houses completely and 50,018 in part, 1,966 industrial establishments, and 6,391 kilometres of road. The loss in cattle was 251,000 head. More than four-sevenths of the devastated land was arable. Of the population of approximately 530,000, all in the war zone, 290,000 were driven out.

The Marne also lost heavily in population, 223,000 of the 300,000 inhabitants of the war zone being compelled to flee. The total population of the department in 1911 was 436,310. The toll of losses counted 320 communes, 432 schools, 49,897 houses, 30,612 of which were completely destroyed, 913 industrial establishments, and 6,184 kilometres of road, besides 116,000 head of livestock carried away. The total devastated area, on the other hand, of 293,000 hectares was only a little more than one-third of the total area of the department, while of the 293,000 hectares only 136,639 hectares were arable.

Similar variations were to be found in the eastern departments. The population of the war zone of the

Ardennes in 1914 was 324,000, a figure slightly in excess of the total population of the department in 1911. Of this number 180,000 were driven out. 443 communes and 789 schools were destroyed, 10,440 houses were completely destroyed and 14,205 destroyed in part, 1,528 industrial establishments were destroyed or injured, and 3,621 kilometres of road required to be rebuilt. The invaded area, 525,000 hectares, was almost identical with the area of the department, but only 125,000 hectares were arable. Cattle to the number of 185,000 head were carried off.

About two-thirds of the population of the Meuse in 1911, or 180,000, were in the war zone in 1914, and of that number 135,000 had to leave. The property losses included 398 communes and 520 schools, 24,229 houses completely destroyed and 12,457 destroyed in part, 93,000 head of livestock carried away, and 4,878 kilometres of road to be rebuilt. The devastated area, 320,000 hectares, was almost exactly one-half the area of the department, 168,816 hectares being arable. Separate figures for industrial establishments are lacking, but the total for the three departments of the Meuse, the Meurthe-et-Moselle, and the Vosges is 1,376 establishments partially or wholly destroyed.

Somewhat less than six-sevenths of the population of the Meurthe-et-Moselle, or 424,000, were in the war zone, and of that number 292,000 were driven out. Destroyed communes and schools numbered 363 and 395 respectively, and to these were to be added 11,796 houses entirely destroyed, 16,609 houses destroyed in part, 4,630 miles of highway requiring reconstruction, and 90,000 head of livestock carried off. The depart-

ment of the Vosges escaped with the least injury. Out of a population of 433,914 in 1911, of which 82,000 were in the war zone in 1914, only 18,000 were obliged to leave. The 120,000 hectares of devastated area, only 4,500 hectares of it arable, represented about one-fifth of the total area of the department. The devastated communes numbered 105, schools 129, houses completely destroyed 2,122, houses partially destroyed 5,663. 39,000 head of livestock had been carried off, and 2,445 kilometres of road required to be rebuilt.

It is difficult even with these figures before us to realize how appalling was the destruction or how serious was the problem of restoration. The material civilization which generations had built up had been, in a little more than four years, all but completely thrown down. To whom belonged the task of reconstruction, and when, where, and how should the work begin? It was these questions that the government of France, while the war was still only in its beginnings, set itself to answer.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS OF RECONSTRUCTION

What has been said in the preceding chapter will serve to indicate in a general way the more obvious material aspects of the problem with which France has had to deal. If the invaded departments were to become once more habitable and productive, what had been demolished must be rebuilt, agricultural, industrial, and commercial life must be reëstablished, the refugee population must be brought back, and civil government and administration must be resumed. To casual observers the problem has often seemed chiefly one of quantity: so many hectares of land to be cleared, so many kilometres of trenches to be filled, so many tons of wire and other débris to be collected and disposed of, so many houses and factories to be rebuilt. It would indeed have been fortunate for France had the task been so simple. Once the undertaking was fairly begun, however, its difficulties and complexities began to appear. Even the simplest and most obvious material processes of the first few months could not be carried far without involving financial, administrative, and legal questions of a serious and novel character, and the questions multiplied as the area of devastation spread and destruction became more systematic and thorough.

The beginning of reconstruction is almost identical with the beginning of the war. The formal declaration of war by Germany was made on August 3, 1914. On September 2, following the advice of the military authorities, the seat of government was transferred from Paris to Bordeaux. Two weeks later the battle of the Marne checked the German advance toward Paris and gave France a momentary breathing space for the long struggle which lay before it. Every other consideration was subordinated for the time being to the organization of national defense, yet within a few weeks the first steps had been taken looking to the relief of the departments which had been invaded, and consideration of the policy under which reconstruction should ultimately proceed was actively begun. There is no "period of reconstruction" separate and distinct from the period of the war, but war and reconstruction went on together so long as the war continued. It is the development of the reconstruction policy under the stress of war conditions that has now to be traced.[1]

On October 27, 1914, a circular to the prefects[2] of the invaded departments announced that the govern-

[1] A striking contrast to the situation in France is afforded by the experience of the Confederate States during and after the American Civil War (1861-65). In spite of the heavy losses which the Civil War entailed and the occupation of important sections of the Confederacy by Federal troops within two years after hostilities began, no important efforts were made by any of the States in the direction of restoration, and no aid was even extended by the Federal Government even after all the persons who had joined in rebellion against the Federal authority had been amnestied and the seceding States had again been accorded political rights. The so-called "period of reconstruction" after the war was wholly political.

[2] The laws, decrees, and official circulars relating to reconstruction are usually to be found in chronological order in the *Bulletin des Lois* and the *Journal Officiel*. Beginning with July 21, 1919, they are also to be found in the weekly *Bulletin des Régions Libérées*, which also reprints many of the earlier documents. For 1914-1917 they are available in a useful compilation entitled *La Législation de la Guerre*.

ment proposed to aid, by all the means at its disposal, the population which was suffering from the war, and that the regions not invaded would be called upon for help. The Parliament was also to be asked to vote credits. In order that the amounts which it would be necessary to dispense might be known, the communal authorities were requested to send to the prefects as detailed reports as possible of the losses sustained, these reports to be forwarded by the prefects to the Ministry of the Interior. The agents of the various ministries concerned, especially engineers of bridges and roads, departmental inspectors, and professors of agriculture, were directed to assist the prefects in the preparation and examination of the reports. A circular of October 28, addressed by the Minister of Agriculture to the prefects and supervisors of agricultural operations, specified in detail the subjects with which the reports should deal. Account was to be taken of injuries sustained by the soil and by buildings of all kinds, of the loss of crops, forage, and grain, including crops not harvested, and losses of personal property. As complete and accurate an evaluation of losses as possible was to be made, care being taken to guard against exaggeration. With the reports, which were to be prepared separately for each commune, were also to be transmitted suggestions of measures necessary for the restoration of agriculture. Weekly reports of progress were requested.

These two circulars were followed on December 26 by a law announcing that the conditions under which the right to war damages [1] might be exercised would

[1] In strict legal usage, damages are what is paid in indemnity or reparation for losses sustained. The French documents usually employ the term in this sense, but occasionally also, as in English and

be made the subject of special legal regulation, and in the meantime establishing with the Ministry of the Interior a preliminary credit of 300,000,000 francs for the most urgent needs. On February 4, 1915, commissions of evaluation were created for departments and cantons. The commissions were empowered to open inquiries either in the commune which had suffered losses or in any other commune in the canton, and to determine questions of urgency. The provisions of the decree of February 4, with subsequent modifications, were later embodied in a law of April 6. A subsequent decree of February 24 provided for a commission to allot the funds which had been placed to the credit of the Ministry of the Interior.

The determination of the conditions under which war damages should be awarded was referred to a special commission, the composition of which was fixed by a decree of March 24. The membership was large, comprising two senators and three deputies (increased in April to five senators and seven deputies), two members of the Council of State, two members of the Cour des Comptes, two representatives each of the ministries of the Interior, Finance, War, Public Works, Commerce and Industry, and Agriculture, one representative each of the ministries of Justice, Foreign Affairs, and Labor, two architects, two representatives of chambers of commerce, two representatives of agricultural societies, and four other members. The members of the commission were named by the Minister of

American popular usage, in the sense of the losses themselves as distinct from reparation or indemnity. I have followed the legal practice wherever the popular usage would lead to confusion.

the Interior, who also presided at sessions at which he was present.

On May 27 the commission made its report.[1] The report pointed out that the only question with which the commission could properly concern itself was that of the evaluation of damages, the question of the indemnities which should be paid for losses sustained being wholly within the jurisdiction of Parliament. In the existing state of the law the only damages which the commission could consider were such as were (1) material or direct, excluding those that were indirect, (2) real and actual, excluding those that were consequential or eventual, or (3) the results of acts of war, for example, requisitions. There were two possible theories of evaluation: one which took as the basis the cost of replacing the property, less an allowance for depreciation through age, the other that which took as a basis the value of the property at the time of its destruction. The commission by a majority vote had approved the latter theory as the one most nearly in conformity with existing law and the decree of February 4. If the amount allowed in damages under this rule proved to be less than the actual cost of restoration, relief must be sought in indemnities which it would be the function of legislation to provide.

The period of time to be taken for determining valuation, the report went on to recommend, should be that immediately preceding the war, not the precise date of the destruction or injury. The financial authorities of the government should determine as nearly as possible

[1] The report is in the *Journal Officiel* for June 21, Supplement, 4135-4139.

the value of the property at a date as close as possible to the outbreak of the war, using for this purpose any relevant data from census returns, public records, the records of mortgage or insurance companies, etc. Account should also be taken of losses in tools and agricultural machinery, farm animals, food and forage, crops in the ground, vineyards (including the cost of replanting and the loss of yield in the meantime), trees, gardens, injuries to fields by military operations, trenches, and the like, and injuries to private roads. Forest damages, also to be included, were in a special class, involving as they did questions of the loss of trees, injuries, age, market value, cost of restoration, buildings of forest occupants, road, etc. Injuries to cemeteries were also to be estimated, and enemy requisitions were to be reckoned as war losses.

In industry and commerce as well as in agriculture account should be taken of the actual value in use of the property at the time of injury or destruction, and of the value of building in comparison with the value of the real property as a whole. In the case of personal property the cantonal commissions should require the production of detailed lists, supported by documentary proof (for example, insurance policies) wherever possible, documentary proof being especially necessary where the property was of exceptional value or where claims for lost money were made.

The commission further recommended that expert valuation be dispensed with, and that lists of persons to whom the cantonal commissions might appeal, the persons so chosen to serve without pay, be drawn up for each department. In the case of commercial or

industrial losses the local chambers of commerce should be consulted. Detailed recommendations were also made regarding the method of evaluating bonds, mortgages, and similar securities or evidences of debt. Finally, it was urged that the work of the commissions be begun at once in places from which the enemy had withdrawn.

Two weeks before the submission of this report, on May 11, the government had laid before the Chamber of Deputies a proposed law under which the state should assume responsibility for the indemnification of such war losses as were "material, certain, and direct." The place of this proposal in the evolution of the law of war damages will be considered later. The report of the commission, on the other hand, while in accord with the government proposal on the question of reimbursing only direct and material losses, was mainly concerned with the question of evaluation, and its recommendations constitute the first attempt to deal with that subject systematically and as a whole. The report is a landmark in the history of reconstruction, and the procedure which it outlined formed the basis, in the main, of government action until the adoption of the great law of April 17, 1919. The decree of February 4 was reissued in July in a revised and amended form, and was further amplified in August.

A long period of experiment and divided effort, however, was still to elapse. A radical difference of opinion early developed between the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate over the question of war damages, and the prolonged debate in the chambers, in the press, and in the country naturally affected the attitude of

the government. The work of aiding and restoring the invaded departments was shared by several ministries, each of which pursued more or less its own course. The Ministry of the Interior, coöperating with the military authorities, busied itself with returning refugees to their homes, erecting temporary houses or making habitable those least injured, and caring for refugees in other parts of France. The Ministry of Agriculture helped the people who had returned to obtain seed, grain, farm animals, and implements. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry also exerted itself to provide tools for farmers and mechanics, while the Ministry of Labor extended to the invaded communities the benefit of various social laws and regulations. Visible progress, however, was small. The return of a part of the civil population at this early date was as a whole ill-advised, the conditions of existence were hard and often wretched, and military events undid much of what was actually accomplished.

The immediate need was for coöperation, and some efforts were made to supply it. On April 13, 1916, a decree of the Minister of the Interior [1] provided for the creation within the ministry of a special service charged with the duty of preparing measures looking to the construction of temporary houses in the devastated regions and to the more speedy reconstruction of towns, villages, and buildings that had been destroyed, and of other plans intended to insure the necessary cooperation in these matters between the departments concerned. This action was followed on May 18 by a government decree establishing an interministerial

[1] *Journal Officiel,* May 6.

commission to aid in the restoration of the invaded regions. In an official statement which accompanied the decree two obstacles to rapid reconstruction were specially emphasized. One was the fact that the law of December 26, 1914, while promising indemnity for material or direct losses, failed to meet the immediate and pressing needs of sinistrés [1] who had not only lost houses or other property, but who must also rebuild before their former occupation or business could be resumed. The other obstacle was the lack of coördinated effort by the several ministries. The composition of the new committee, however, promised little improvement in coöperation. Its membership comprised the ministers of Justice, Interior, Finance, War, Public Works, Commerce and Industry, Posts and Telegraphs, Agriculture, and Labor, a Minister of State without portfolio, and the Under-Secretary of State for Fine Arts. With these were associated the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts in questions relating to schools, the Minister of the Colonies in questions involving the supply of labor or materials by the colonies, the Under-Secretary of State for Artillery and Munitions in questions relating to tools and equipment, and the Under-Secretary of State for the Marine in questions relating to the merchant marine. Practically, it was the old committee of March 24, 1916, shorn of senators, deputies, and non-official members.

For the better transaction of business this interministerial committee was divided into six sections,

[1] The word itself, of course, is not a war product, but its general use as a special designation of those who had suffered property losses because of the war seems to have dated from 1914-1915. In the absence of a satisfactory English equivalent I use the French term.

each presided over by a minister and each intrusted with one or more subjects—legal questions, transport, mines, buildings, civil reorganization, hygiene, agriculture, industrial reconstruction, etc. More than seven months elapsed, however, without any essential change in policy or administrative methods. In February, 1917, and again in April, the committee was reorganized and its duties redistributed, but it gradually became apparent that the committee, having no agents of its own as distinct from the agents of the several ministries in the departments for whose benefit it had been created, could deal only with general matters and not with details.

On July 28, accordingly, the ministerial members of the committee were constituted an executive commission, charged with the duty of securing the coöperation which thus far had not been realized. The immediate outcome of this change appears to have been the creation, by a decree of August 10, of an office of industrial reconstruction for the invaded districts,[1] destined to play before long the leading part in the work of restoration. The interministerial committee, however, continued to exist. In August it created within itself a superior committee for the coördination of public and private relief in the war area. That it was still regarded by the government, and also regarded itself, as the chief agency for directing the work of reconstruction may perhaps be inferred from the issuance, on October 8, of a decree reducing its original six sections to five and redistributing their powers, one of the new

[1] For the list of members see the decree of August 21, in the *Bulletin des Lois* of that date.

sections having to do with industrial reconstruction, and by the issuance on November 12 of a circular signed by M. Léon Bourgeois, president of the committee, calling the attention of the prefects of the Aisne, the Marne, the Meurthe-et-Moselle, the Nord, the Oise, the Pas-de-Calais, the Somme, and the Vosges to certain decrees of August 10 and November 5 and advising them of their duties in the matter of enforcement.

In other directions more than formal progress had in the meantime been made. On May 15 a preliminary competition, open to all French architects, had been announced for the choice of such as later would be allowed to take part in a final competition for the creation of types of peasant houses. The impossibility of securing, until some time after the liberation of the invaded territories, a strict adherence to the terms laid down in the decree of July 20, 1915, for the evaluation of war damages, led to the issuance by the Minister of the Interior, on May 29,[1] of a circular authorizing sinistrés to proceed at once to a summary ascertainment of their losses, and to the restoration of their property with the aid of such material as they might have, without thereby prejudicing their rights before the cantonal commissions. A law of July 5 authorized the prefects, in case the government representatives had failed to inspect property injured or destroyed, to make the examinations themselves if called upon or to send an expert for the purpose. A circular of July 16, issued jointly by the ministers of the Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Industry, further empowered

[1] *Journal Officiel*, June 2.

the prefects to make advances to sinistrés, before the evaluation of damages and upon a preliminary survey, in order to enable the sinistrés to maintain themselves temporarily and to use the tools, seed, and other supplies with which they had been provided. The advances, which were to be substantially less than the probable damages and in general not more than 3,000 francs to any one person, were to be charged against the credit of 300,000,000 francs authorized in December, 1914.

With a view to hastening the reconstitution of the soil a special service, attached to the Ministry of War, was organized under a decree of August 18 and charged with the duty of removing projectiles and explosives of all kinds, leveling the battlefields, and disposing of other obstacles to cultivation. The personnel of the service was to be recruited as far as possible from retired soldiers and civil functionaries. When work of a military nature had been completed, the service was to be transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture; on October 9, however, before anything of importance had been accomplished, it was transferred instead to the Ministry of Public Works and Transport. In September the supervision of matters relating to habitations and building construction was taken from the overburdened Ministry of the Interior and given to the Ministry of Public Works and Transport, and a special committee was created within the latter ministry to study the whole question of construction, arrange for labor and transport, and advise local committees which were to be formed in each department. The membership of the special commit-

tee comprised, in addition to functionaries, two architects and two contractors.[1]

The volume of legislation and executive orders was obviously growing apace, but reconstruction lagged. Back of the lines the army, aided by German prisoners, had performed praiseworthy service in clearing the main streets of reoccupied towns and villages, pulling down or protecting dangerous ruins, restoring the main highways to passable condition, erecting temporary bridges, extracting unexploded shells, and insuring the purity of drinking water. Some clearing of private property had been begun; gardens had been planted and some small crops harvested. Here and there schools had been reëstablished in barraques, small shops had been reopened, and food and lodging of a sort could be had. Complaints were loud and long, however, that notwithstanding the establishment of commissions in many cantons, the evaluation of damages was proceeding with distressing slowness or not at all, that money was not forthcoming or that government advances were wholly insufficient, and that the sinistrés were embarrassed at every turn by divided authority and conflicting responsibility while the Parliament at Paris debated.

On October 1, accordingly, a new commission was created to study the question of credits. The report which accompanied the proposed decree [2] described the situation succinctly. However effective the measures thus far adopted may have been, "they are not equal to bringing about a rebirth of economic activity in the

[1] Decrees of September 17 and 25.
[2] *Journal Officiel,* October 4.

devastated regions. They extend no aid whatever to business men of those regions whose damages are not material and direct—the only damages upon which a claim to indemnity can be based. On the other hand, to the sinistrés themselves the indemnity does not furnish all the means of action necessary. The manufacturer who would like to rebuild a better arranged and more perfectly equipped factory does not find, in the indemnity to which he has a claim, the full measure of the resources which he needs. In the same way the owner will find it impossible to erect more modern buildings with better hygienic conditions if means of credit are not placed at his disposal. . . . The problem of credit presents itself in pressing terms and under the most diverse forms: credit to manufacturers, to merchants, to urban proprietors, to farmers, to artisans."

Four senators and six deputies, in addition to two senators and two deputies who acted as vice-presidents, and forty-four representatives of business and of the government made up the commission.

A further step was taken on the same date by the creation of an office of agricultural reconstitution for the invaded departments. The administrative council of the new office comprised, in addition to government officials, representatives of six agricultural organizations. On November 13 all the work of agricultural reconstruction was turned over to this office. A month later,[1] however, the Ministry of Blockade and of the Liberated Regions was reorganized, and the two offices of industrial reconstruction and agricultural recon-

[1] Decree of December 13.

struction were presently attached to it.[1] The jurisdiction of this composite ministry, so far as the liberated regions were concerned, embraced the various services dealing with the reorganization of local life, war damages and accounting, the coördination of public and private relief, and the technical services having to do with the temporary provision of habitations, the reconstruction of buildings, and the restoration of the soil. Each of these services as already constituted remained intact, but the union of blockade and reconstruction in the same administrative department did not promise hopefully for the recovery of the invaded departments so long as the war pressure continued.

Another year was to pass, however, and hostilities were to terminate before reconstruction and blockade could be divorced. On February 16 the office of industrial reconstitution was reorganized, sixteen members, eight of whom were representative of commerce and industry and at least five of the eight being chosen from the invaded departments, having the sole right of voting on questions of policy. The multiplication of legal and other questions of a controversial nature led to the creation within the Ministry of Blockade and of the Liberated Regions, on July 14, of a consultative committee whose advice could be required by the minister. Of the twelve members one was a member of the Cour des Comptes, two were professors of law, and three were lawyers entitled to practice before the Cour d'Appel.

On November 26, the armistice having in the meantime been proclaimed, came the first step in the much-

[1] Decree of January 23, 1918.

needed rearrangement of ministerial functions. The Ministry of Armaments and War Fabrications was transformed into a Ministry of Industrial Reconstruction, and the office of industrial reconstruction in the Ministry of Blockade and of the Liberated Regions was transferred to the new ministry. Three days later the services of transport, food control, military relations, and the reconstruction of buildings were placed under the special charge of a commissariat general in the Ministry of Blockade. On December 11 the further direction of blockade was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Blockade and of the Liberated Regions became the Ministry of the Liberated Regions. It will be observed that the latter ministry did not as yet embrace the important subject of industrial reconstruction, that field being still the special province of the Ministry of Industrial Reconstruction, and that railways were still under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Works and Transport.

The long period of beginnings and administrative experiments was now drawing to its close. On December 12 the prefects were authorized to requisition building material from buildings wholly or partially destroyed, provided the material was not being used for rebuilding and was not of architectural or artistic value. Commissions for the evaluation of such material were provided for on February 13. By a law of January 10, 1919, the Minister of Public Works and Transport was empowered to take any steps necessary to insure the restoration of railway lines, including rolling stock and other appointments, to a condition equivalent to that in which they were on January 1,

1914, a special credit of 600,000,000 francs being opened for this purpose. On February 2 all railway lines, except those in process of reconstruction and local lines operated by French companies or by the Allies, were ordered to be returned to their owners on and after February 10 and until the end of the war.[1] A consultative committee on war damages was created within the Ministry of the Liberated Regions on February 17, while laws of March 4 and March 14 dealt with the delimitation and allotment of landed property in the devastated zone, and with proposals for the extension and replanning of towns. Finally, with the promulgation of the great statute of April 17 reëstablishing the bases for the evaluation and settlement of war damages, the first period in the history of reconstruction ended and the restoration of the invaded departments entered upon a new phase.

A review of the long period from August, 1914, to April, 1919, unquestionably affords abundant ground for criticism. It is clear that the government policy was lacking in definiteness and consistency, and that the division of administrative responsibility between the different ministries, all of which had at one time or another a voice in the matter, seriously impeded the work of reconstruction as a whole. On the other hand, every attempt to insure interministerial cooperation by creating new committees or commissions or by reorganizing old ones had failed, and the outlook in that direction was fairly to be regarded as hopeless.

[1] The state of siege was raised on October 12, 1919, when the signature of the treaty of Versailles by the President of the Council (M. Clemenceau) was approved by the chambers.

The all-important question of war damages had been dealt with throughout the war upon principles which, however well they may have accorded with law or precedent, had failed to meet the obvious necessities of sinistrés. The volume of laws, decrees, and official pronouncements was out of all proportion to the work actually accomplished, and the array of functionaries was excessive in comparison with the record of their achievement. What with a complicated and ineffective system, a redundant and largely undisciplined personnel, an insufficient theory of indemnity for war losses, and only the beginnings of government credits, more than one sinistré felt that he had been left to work out his own salvation for the present and, for the future, to rest in hope.

There were extenuating circumstances, however, that temper criticism. The problem of reconstruction, whether looked at from the point of view of legal theory or from that of administrative procedure, was a new one, and neither law nor experience threw much light upon its solution. Its material magnitude was appalling and its possible ramifications well-nigh limitless. It would have been indeed remarkable if the right method of solution had been worked out in a few months, or if the best way of administering a task unprecedentedly huge and complex had been discovered without first trying a number of experiments, or if credits without limit had been voted for an undertaking whose colossal ultimate cost no one as yet could estimate. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that until November, 1918, the war was actively going on, and that the varying course of military operations,

raising the nation to a high pinnacle of hope and confidence to-day, clouding the stoutest hearts with apprehension to-morrow, made the organization of defense and victory rather than the reconstitution of what had been destroyed the overshadowing consideration. No less than five ministries held office during the period of the war, and the *union sacrée* which united political parties for the prosecution of the war did not prevent radical divergences of view in regard to reconstruction. Much has been written and more has been said about the slow and cumbersome methods of French administration and its inability to cope effectively with new conditions or with a crisis, but it may well be doubted if any nation, faced with the problem of reconstruction under the conditions in which that problem faced France down to 1919, would have been likely to accomplish more or temporize less. The extraordinary administrative inefficiency and demoralization which prevailed in more than one branch of the public service in Great Britain and the United States both during and long after the war may well serve to moderate criticism of French shortcomings.

Nor were the material results wholly discouraging. There was more progress in 1917-1918 than in 1915-1916, and more between the armistice and April, 1919, than during the previous year. In more than half of the invaded departments cantonal commissions were at work and advance payments on account were being made.[1] Thanks in large part to the assistance which

[1] See an important circular issued by M. Léon Malvy, Minister of the Interior, on May 7, 1917, reprinted in the *Bulletin des Régions Libérées*.

the government had granted and the credits which had been made available, a considerable percentage of the refugee population had returned by the spring of 1919, municipal life had been resumed in many communes, thousands of hectares were in crops, railways, roads, and bridges were actually being restored, rebuilding had been begun, and local trade was reviving. The work of removing explosives, barbed wire, and military débris from cultivable land had already proceeded far. The larger towns had church services and primary schools, the provision of telegraph, telephone, and electric light was being extended, and young men and women were marrying and beginning home life in the ruins. That much of what had been accomplished was the work of the people rather than of the government, that progress was very unevenly distributed and great areas still remained almost untouched, and that the aggregate was small in comparison with what remained to be done, was obvious enough; but the task was colossal. The shortcomings of the government had indeed been many and serious, but the call was nevertheless for courage, intelligence, devotion, and sacrifice rather than for recrimination or despair.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLICY OF REPARATION

THE law of April 17, 1919, providing for the reparation of war damages, was evolved only after long controversy in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies and earnest discussion in the press and in the country. Conflicting theories of law, policy, and procedure, each supported by strong arguments and expounded by able advocates, struggled for ascendancy in the long debate. No government had ever committed itself to the proposition that losses occasioned by war were to be reimbursed by the state as a matter of right, or that financial responsibility attached to a whole people for making good the injuries which a part of the people had suffered. As a matter of fact most war losses had never been reimbursed at all, the inhabitants of a war zone, whether or not they were themselves in any way responsible for the war, being with rare exceptions left to bear in their own persons or property the injuries which they had sustained. If their houses had been destroyed, it was they who must rebuild; if their farms were ravaged, it was they who must restore fields, pastures, orchards, or woodland; if their industries were prostrated, it was they who must set them up again. When reparation had been accorded by the state it had always been as an act of grace, a favor by which the state acknowledged the sacrifice which the citizen had made on its behalf; but it had never

been recognized as a right which the citizen might claim, either politically before a legislature or legally before a court. No claim for damages could properly be lodged against the state unless the state had erred, and no state that went to war, whether for aggression or for defense, ever regarded itself as having erred.

The history of France showed confusing divergences of theory and practice. On July 31, 1792, the National Assembly approved the following introduction to a law providing for the payment of damages in the frontier departments: "The National Assembly, considering that if in a war whose object is the conservation of liberty, independence, the French constitution, every citizen owes to the state the sacrifice of his life and his fortune, the state ought in its turn to protect the citizens who devoted themselves to its defense; wishing to give to foreign nations the first example of the fraternity which unites the citizens of a free people and which makes of common concern to all the individuals of the social body the injuries occasioned to one of its members, the Assembly decrees urgency and lays down the principle of national responsibility." The law itself, however, restricted indemnities to those losses only which had been caused by enemies, and made the payments proportional to the fortune which the citizen still retained, and to his needs, and to the losses which could be proved. If he were still rich he had little to hope for; if he were poor he might be more or less completely reimbursed.

Again, in 1793, the Convention declared "in the name of the nation" that it would "indemnify all citizens for the losses which they have suffered or which

they shall suffer by reason of the invasion of French territory by the enemy, or by demolitions or injuries which the common defense has required on our part." The declaration showed an advance on that of 1792 in that it included losses occasioned by French troops. The decree which gave effect to the declaration, however, limited the indemnity of any one person to twice the net income of his real property, and to not more than 2,000 livres for personalty.

The same contrariety appeared in 1871, after the Franco-Prussian war. A commission of the National Assembly laid down the broad principle that "the war contributions, requisitions in money or in kind, fines, and direct material damages which the war and invasion have visited upon the inhabitants, communes, and departments of a portion of French territory will be borne by the whole nation." The influence of Thiers was sufficient to change this, when the law came to be voted, to read: "A reparation will be accorded to all those who have suffered, during the invasion, war contributions, requisitions in money or kind, fines, and material damages." In reporting in 1873 votes of credit for the payment of these damages, care was taken to announce that neither a right to indemnity nor the existence of a state debt was to be understood as implied; while the report which accompanied the law of July 28, 1874, providing further credits, frankly stated that in the view of the commission "the measure will be considered as wholly exceptional; it constitutes an indemnity accorded solely as an act of grace.[1]

[1] These examples are taken from the statement of reasons accompanying the proposed law submitted to the Chamber of Deputies on

The question of whether or not reparation for war losses should be recognized as a right rather than as an act of grace was obviously different from the question as to what losses should be reimbursed, but in practice a decision of the one question involved consideration of the other. On the first point the government early reached a decision. The announcement to the prefects on October 27, 1914, of the purpose of the government to aid, with all the means at its disposal, the people who were suffering from the war and to call upon the departments not invaded for help, does not of itself imply any fundamental change either in theory or in practice. On December 22, however, in a declaration to the chambers, the government stated its position. "Under the pressure of invasion departments have been occupied and ruins have accumulated. The government takes before you a solemn engagement, which it has already in part executed, in proposing to you a first opening of credit of three hundred millions. France will restore those ruins, counting confidently upon the proceeds of the indemnities which we shall exact and, in the meantime, upon the help of a contribution which the whole nation will pay, gladly, in the distress of a part of its children, to fulfill the rôle of national solidarity. Further, repudiating the form of relief, which indicates favor, the state itself proclaims the right to reparation for the benefit of those who have been victims, in the matter of their possessions, of acts of war, and it will fulfill its duty to the largest limits which the financial capacity of the country shall permit and under conditions which

May 11, 1915, citing Joseph Barthélemy, *Le principe de la réparation intégrale des dommages causés par la guerre.*

a special law, designed to avoid all injustice and all arbitrariness, will determine."

This statement, unique in the history of governments, was followed on December 26 by the law, already referred to, creating departmental commissions of evaluation and appropriating 300,000,000 francs toward the payment of war damages. That losses caused by French or Allied troops were not yet considered as damages to be reimbursed is evident from the extension to the invaded communes in February, 1915, of the benefits of a law of 1877 relating to payments for property requisitioned by the military forces.

The legislative history of the law of April 17, 1919, begins with the presentation by the government to the Chamber of Deputies on May 11, 1915, of a proposed law regarding war damages. The law itself was brief, providing only (1) that reparation was to be made for injuries to real or personal property occasioned by the war, provided such injuries are "material, certain, and direct"; (2) that the right to indemnity should be conditioned upon the reëmployment of the indemnity in ways similar to those in which the damaged property had been used; (3) reserving for later legislation the treatment of indemnities due to communes, departments, public enterprises, and state or local concessionaires; and (4) denying the right of recourse to the courts for the recovery of the indemnities proposed.

A scrutiny of the proposed law and of the statement of reasons which accompanied it[1] shows clearly the

[1] Chamber of Deputies, 1915, No. 904. The official sponsors for the proposed law were MM. Réné Viviani, President of the Council

position of the government at this time. Indemnity for war losses was recognized as a right and not as a favor, although not as a right which could be prosecuted in the courts. The right extended to departments, communes, corporations, or enterprises of a public character, and state or local concessionaires as well as to individuals. It was not expected that the indemnities would necessarily be paid immediately or that the state, in conceding a right to indemnity, thereby pledged itself to an aggregate of payments beyond its means. The particular financial arrangements which would be necessary were left for later consideration, when the results of the evaluation of damages should be known; in the meantime 300,000,000 francs had been made available for urgent needs. In no case, however, was a sinistré to be entitled to indemnity unless the indemnity was to be reëmployed, and the state claimed a right to supervise both the composition of the claim and the conditions of reëmployment. Under no circumstances, moreover, were indirect losses to be indemnified. Finally, it was the welfare of France and not merely the restoration of certain invaded districts that was to be kept in view. "It is not to the invaded departments," declares the statement of reasons, "that the nation owes legitimate indemnity; it is to itself. It is not our frontier departments that have been invaded, it is France." The law to be invoked, in other words, was not civil but social.

The adoption thus early in the war of a new principle of national responsibility for war damages, even

(Premier), A. Ribot, Minister of Finance, L. Malvy, Minister of the Interior, and Gaston Doumergue, Minister of the Colonies.

with the limited scope which as yet was given to the principle in application, cannot well be separated from the question of the German reparations and indemnities. Any detailed consideration of this latter question, in either its theory or its practical ramifications, would be outside the purpose of the present discussion. It may be pointed out, however, that France might well have hesitated to assume the huge financial responsibility which the restoration of the invaded departments was certain to involve if it had not, in common with its Allies, assumed that the cost of restoration would ultimately be paid by Germany. The eventual embodiment of this assumption in the treaty of Versailles [1] not only gave international approval to the principle which France had announced, so far at least as France was concerned, and which had received by 1919 a far wider extension than it had in 1915, but also bound the Allied and Associated Powers to see to it that the application of the principle was not defeated by failure on the part of Germany to meet the requirements imposed upon it. France, in other words, was in good faith bound to proceed with reconstruction as a national task, and Germany was bound to pay. The success of the reconstruction policy, accordingly, once its foundation principle was enunciated, became inseparably bound up with the question of reparations and indemnities to be exacted from Germany; and while it is hardly conceivable that France would have

[1] "The Allied and Associated Governments declare and Germany recognizes that Germany and its allies are responsible, by reason of having caused them, for all the losses and all damages sustained by the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals in consequence of the war which has been imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and its allies" (Part VIII, Article 231).

repudiated the principle of national responsibility even if the demand for reparation had failed, it was clear that the government might before long be gravely embarrassed financially if the huge advances which it must make in anticipation of repayment were not eventually reimbursed.[1]

Further progress in the elaboration of the law was for a long time blocked by the attitude of the Chamber of Deputies. Notwithstanding the traditional conception of the Senate as essentially an aristocratic body and of the Chamber of Deputies as the body which most accurately represented the people, it was the deputies who stubbornly insisted that the reëmployment of indemnities should be made compulsory if anything beyond the original value of the property was to be reimbursed. In ministerial circles, too, this position had influential support. The reason for the attitude of the Chamber of Deputies was not to be found in a desire to do less than justice to the sinistrés, but rather in the fear that if the reëmployment of indemnities was not made compulsory many sinistrés would take their indemnities but would not return to the invaded departments. The fact that a good many sinistrés had reëstablished their businesses in other parts of France, taken in connection with the long period which it was believed must elapse before the reconstruction of the devastated area could be accomplished, was pointed to as convincing proof of what would happen if reëmployment were not made obligatory. Only with compulsory reëmployment, it was insisted,

[1] André Toulemon, *La Réparation des Dommages de Guerre* (Paris, 1921), has some interesting observations on the international aspects of reparations and reconstruction.

would the return of the industrial population be insured and the migration of considerable numbers of sinistrés prevented. That this fear had any substantial foundation is not apparent, but it seems to have been genuinely entertained.

The widespread dissatisfaction which the position of the Chamber of Deputies occasioned among the sinistrés led, however, to a modification of the provisions regarding reëmployment. In place of compulsory reëmployment the tribunals for the evaluation of war damages were authorized to dispense with the requirement in cases where physical or moral obstacles made reëmployment impracticable or impossible. With this concession the proposed law, after more than a year and a half of discussion, was finally adopted by the Chamber on January 23, 1917. But the modified proposal proved to be no more acceptable to the sinistrés than the original had been. Strong opposition was voiced to leaving the question of reëmployment to the decision, very possibly prejudiced, of any tribunal, and to requiring sinistrés to divulge their private affairs, physical condition, or plans as a condition of the free use of their indemnities. It was the Senate rather than the popular Chamber that championed liberty. In an able report submitted to the Senate on August 3 by M. Reynald the whole theory of social *vs.* individual interest in reconstruction was traversed and compulsory reëmployment rejected. The vice of the theory of compulsory reëmployment, it was pointed out, was the belief that reconstruction would be hastened by putting pressure upon sinistrés who were already attached to the soil by virtue of owning their

property, at the same time that no such pressure was exercised upon the far larger number of sinistrés who had no real property and who consequently were free to migrate. Compulsory reëmployment was further declared to be objectionable because it interfered with individual rights and established a species of servitude. Most of all, however, it involved a fundamental economic error. "It is the desire that the invaded country shall be restored, that its strength and energy shall be reëstablished; we desire that also; but we are also deeply persuaded that only a policy of liberty will permit or favor that rebirth." [1]

A compromise was accordingly proposed under which a premium was to be placed upon reëmployment, the sinistré being left free to reëmploy or not as he chose. If he did not reëmploy, his indemnity would be limited to the loss actually sustained, which would mean the value of his property in 1914. If, on the other hand, he contributed by reëmployment to the general work of restoration, his indemnity would include not only the value of his property in 1914 but also a supplementary amount sufficient, counting the enhanced cost of construction, to enable him to rebuild substantially as before the war.

The proposed law thus modified was adopted by the Senate on December 22. The Chamber of Deputies refused to accept the proposal regarding reëmployment, still insisting that the obligation to reëmploy should be dispensed with only on the authorization of a tribunal. A report embodying this position was laid before the Senate on September 27. Before it had

[1] The Reynald report (Senate, 1917, No. 315) is in the *Journal Officiel*, November 6.

been finally acted upon the armistice of November 11 had ended hostilities. With the certainty that the cost of reparation would now be charged to Germany, reconstruction entered upon a new phase. The Minister of Blockade and of the Liberated Regions interested himself to bring about an accord between the chambers by proposing a discrimination, in case indemnities were not reëmployed, between sinistrés who offered good and sufficient reasons and those who did not. Organizations of sinistrés also exerted strong pressure upon the Chamber of Deputies, the dean of the faculty of law, M. Larnande, threw his influence into the scale, and a meeting of the States General of the devastated regions, presided over by M. Ribot, was held. The budget commission of the Chamber of Deputies, whose opinion had been called for, reported on December 18 that reparations should be complete and immediate. With slight modification the ministerial suggestion was reluctantly accepted, and on February 1, 1919, the Chamber of Deputies adopted the amended project.[1]

The Senate, still the champion of the sinistrés and of liberty, not only refused to recede from its position in regard to reëmployment, but also restored to mercantile capital the right to indemnification which the Chamber of Deputies had denied. Certain limitations on the amount to be paid in indemnities were also incorporated.[2] The amended draft, adopted on March

[1] For full statements of the points at issue see the two reports of M. Edouard Eymond, September 27 and December 6, 1918 (Chamber of Deputies, 1918, Nos. 5021 and 5375). The budget commission report, containing wealth of data regarding war losses, is No. 5432.

[2] Reynald report, March 5 (Senate, 1919, No. 79), where the text of the law as adopted by the Chamber of Deputies and the changes proposed by the Senate are shown in parallel columns.

25, was laid before the Chamber of Deputies on April 3. The Chamber accepted the proposal of freedom in the matter of reëmployment, coupled with a premium in case the indemnity was reëmployed, and relieved the sinistré from the necessity of obtaining the authorization of a tribunal if the indemnity was not to be reëmployed, save where the right to indemnity had been assigned. The exclusion of mercantile capital, however, was adhered to, although a special law was promised to deal with the subject. The other changes concerned details rather than principles.[1] The amended proposal was transmitted to the Senate on April 11, and on the 17th was approved.[2]

More than three years and eleven months had passed since the law was first proposed. The first period of consideration in the Chamber of Deputies had covered a year and eight months, the Senate had followed with a debate extending over eleven months, and the Chamber of Deputies had again deliberated for thirteen months. No less than nine elaborate reports had been submitted. Whatever defects the law might contain, no one could say that it had not been long and carefully considered, that every argument had not been repeatedly weighed, or that the sinistrés and their representatives had not had abundant opportunity to be heard. No law of the Republic had ever been more thoroughly debated or more painstakingly framed.

By the law of April 17, 1919, all damages certain, material, and direct, in France and Algiers, to real or

[1] Eymond report, April 5 (Chamber of Deputies, 1919, No. 5946).
[2] Reynald report, April 11 (Senate, 1919, No. 171).

personal property due to acts of war are entitled to reparation as promised by the law of December 26, 1914. Five classes of injuries or losses are recognized: (1) requisitions or other exactions of the enemy; (2) movable property of all kinds carried away, injured, or destroyed, including losses during evacuation or repatriation; (3) real property injured or destroyed, including forests and commercial, agricultural, or industrial property recognized as real property by destination; (4) losses under any of the three classes just specified which occurred within the military zone, without regard to questions of legal liability ordinarily applicable to property so situated; (5) injuries or losses sustained by fishing vessels. Losses caused by acts of the French or Allied armies are entitled to reparation as well as those caused by the enemy. Subject to special regulations in particular cases, the right to indemnity is extended to associations, public corporations, communes, and departments as well as to individuals and their heirs.

The indemnity for losses of real property is fixed at an amount equal to the value of the property on the eve of mobilization, allowance being made for depreciation, supplemented by such amounts as are necessary for reconstruction or repair, taking into account the difference in cost between 1914 and the date when the evaluation is made. If the indemnity is not to be employed in rebuilding or restoration, only the amount of the actual loss sustained is to be reimbursed. Where the deduction on account of depreciation through age exceeds 10,000 francs, the excess is to be advanced by the state to the sinistré upon

demand, subject to repayment. In the case of agricultural property the deduction for depreciation is not to exceed twenty per cent. of the estimated cost of construction at the time of mobilization. Reëmployment of the indemnity is, in general, to be effected within the commune where the loss was sustained or within a radius of fifty kilometres therefrom, but not outside of the war zone. In the case of real property other than buildings, the amount of damages reimbursable is to be determined by taking into account the deterioration of the soil, vineyards, forests, inclosures, etc., and the cost of restoration if the indemnity is to be reëmployed.

Where an indemnity is not to be reëmployed, the amount due is to be paid to the sinistré in the form of a bond (*titre*) bearing interest at five per cent., inalienable for five years, and payable in cash after five years in ten annual installments.

Losses of personal property are to be indemnified on the basis of the value of the property on June 30, 1914, except in the case of agricultural products, where the date of evaluation is the date when the crop would have matured. Supplements for replacement over and above the estimated value at the time of loss or injury are allowed, in the case of material or equipment employed in commerce or industry, to an amount necessary to enable the business to be carried on for three months; in the case of agricultural equipment, to the next harvest; in the case of personal effects, household furniture, and the like, to an amount not exceeding 3,000 francs for any one claimant. Losses of government bonds or coupons are to be made good by the

delivery of other securities of the same kind. Provision is also made for the indemnification of public officials who lost their offices, the details, however, being left for later regulation. The restoration of public buildings of historical or artistic value is placed under the immediate supervision of a special commission attached to the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, the basis of indemnity being the estimated cost of constructing a similar building for similar purposes or, if reconstruction is deemed inadvisable, the cost of a new site.

For the evaluation of damages commissions are created in each canton. Each commission consists of five members, one, the president, being a lawyer or judge, one a representative of the ministries of Finance and the Liberated Regions, one an architect, contractor, or engineer, one an expert in matters of personal-property valuation, and one a farmer, manufacturer, merchant, or workman, the choice in the latter case being determined by the nature of the damages to be evaluated. Special commissions are provided for mines and forests. The cantonal commissions are aided by a technical committee appointed in each department.

For the revision of the evaluations made by the cantonal commissions and the adjustment of controversies, there is further provided in each arrondissement in which cantonal commissions have been organized a tribunal of war damages, divided into as many sections or chambers, each of five members, as the conduct of business may require. Claims for damages, supported by the necessary proofs, are submitted to the cantonal commissions, which are empowered to view the prop-

erty, examine witnesses, and reconcile disputes. The final decision regarding the nature and extent of losses and the amount of indemnity rests with the tribunal of the arrondissement. The decisions of the tribunal, except on questions of fact, are subject to review by the Council of State.

The payment of indemnities is to be made by the delivery of a preliminary or ad interim certificate, non-negotiable, exchangeable within two months for a bond (*titre*) covering the principal sum allowed, together with interest at five per cent. from the date at which the loss was incurred. If the sinistré reëmploys his indemnity, he is entitled to a first advance of from 3,000 to 100,000 francs on account of the estimated value of his property in 1914 or at the date of its injury or destruction, and to advances of the balance in proportion to the progress of the reëmployment. Additional advances may also be made to meet urgent needs. The right is reserved to the state, however, to discharge its obligations in whole or in part by granting to the sinistré real property of a similar nature and equal value to that destroyed, or by the replacement of personal property, or by itself carrying out the work of restoration or furnishing the necessary materials. The state may also take over any real property if the cost of restoring the land exceeds the value of the land. A right of priority is accorded to sinistrés in procuring and transporting material and in obtaining labor. The entire cost of clearing away the débris (*déblaiement*), removing explosives, and reëstablishing the lines of public ways, together with responsibility for accidents occasioned by the explosion of projectiles, is assumed by the state.

A few special classes of damages were reserved for later regulation. The list includes damages for losses of commercial capital,[1] personal injuries, losses sustained by state arsenals, factories, and munition depots, and losses of private factories operated for purposes of national defense where no redress at common law can be obtained.

Such are the main provisions of the law of war damages. Its leading principles are simple. The state undertakes to reimburse all direct and material losses occasioned by the war. If the sinistré does not intend to rebuild his property and resume his former occupation, the reimbursement which he will receive is limited to the estimated value of his property at the time of its destruction, as ascertained by commissions and tribunals created for the purpose of evaluating losses. If the property is to be reconstructed and the former occupation resumed, reimbursement is enlarged to include the estimated cost of rebuilding and reestablishment. In the case of historical or artistic monuments which cannot be rebuilt, but which at the same time represent social services which should continue to be performed, the indemnity is limited to the cost of a new site; otherwise the indemnity to be accorded equals the estimated cost of reconstruction or repair. Immediate cash advances are authorized for urgent needs, the balance of the indemnity being paid in installments as the work of reconstruction progresses. In addition, the state assumes all the expense of clearing ruins and débris and ridding the soil of explosives,

[1] The Minister of the Liberated Regions, replying to a question in the Chamber of Deputies on October 18, 1921, stated that a proposed law on this subject had been drafted by the ministry and was awaiting the signature of the Minister of Finance.

at the same time asserting title to all the material so dealt with. Practically, the whole process of restoration is placed under state control, not with the purpose of eliminating the individual but in order that the task may be properly performed.

The law of war damages is one of the great legislative enactments of modern times. In its assumption on the part of the state of responsibility for the indemnification of all direct and material losses due to the war, it not only enlarged beyond precedent the rights of the individual and bound the citizen to the state in new ties of obligation and common interest, but it also pledged the faith and credit of the state to the financial support of an undertaking the like of which was never attempted by any government.

There is a wider application and a deeper significance, also, which should not be lost sight of. Those who framed the law of 1919 may perhaps have been concerned, as practical men, chiefly with the erection of a system under which the devastated departments might, with the ultimate help of German reparations, be effectively and speedily restored. But they also created what may possibly prove to be one of the strongest safeguards against future war. In the days when kings and ministries made war and peace the restoration of destroyed property was not a factor; but now that France, recognizing its obligations as a sovereign state to make good to its citizens the losses which they sustained, has in common with the Allies exacted from Germany a promise of ultimate reimbursement, no future war can be begun save in apprehension of a like exaction from the aggressor. The

demands of chancellories may be less haughty and the assertiveness of national spirit more restrained if once it is realized that to the cost of every shell may perhaps be added the cost of replacing what the shell destroys.

CHAPTER V

THE ORGANIZATION OF RECONSTRUCTION

It will be recalled that at the moment of the adoption of the law of April 17, 1919, the immediate direction of the reconstitution of the invaded departments had been committed mainly to two ministries, the Ministry of Industrial Reconstruction and the Ministry of the Liberated Regions. The railways, however, were still under the supervision of the Ministry of Public Works and Transport, and the restoration of monuments, but not the evaluation of damages to them, had been placed by law in the hands of a special commission responsible to the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. The execution of certain provisions of the law of April, 1919, also involved action by the Minister of Finance, sometimes independently and again jointly with the Minister of the Liberated Regions; and the Minister of Public Works and Transport and the Minister of Justice also had duties to perform. In addition, there was in existence a consultative committee on war damages, organized on February 17, 1919, within the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, but in reality having a quasi-independent status and comprising in its membership senators and deputies as well as ministerial functionaries. The old interministerial committee also continued.

It was the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, to which was presently attached so much of the work of industrial reconstruction as concerned the invaded departments, which in this galaxy of official heads played in practice the leading rôle. It never obtained complete control of the process of reconstruction, however. The important subject of financial credits, upon which after all the success of reconstruction ultimately depended, could not of course be transferred to it. The treatment of monuments remained in charge of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, the reparation of damages occasioned by French troops involved the Ministry of War, and various international questions fell under the jurisdiction, in whole or in part, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. That the evils of divided authority were less after April, 1919, than before was, however, largely due to the fact that the Ministry of the Liberated Regions became, from the nature of the undertaking, the preponderant factor.

With the adoption of the law of war damages the organization of the machinery of administration went on rapidly. A series of circulars and decrees issued in April by the Minister of the Liberated Regions, M. A. Lebrun, applied with admirable clearness and precision the new provisions relating to the constitution of the cantonal commissions, while later circulars in June and September outlined the principles and procedure applicable to the evaluation of damages. Nothing fundamental had afterwards to be added to these important pronouncements. Technical committees were also established in each department for the determination of values and costs upon which the award of

damages for actual losses and supplementary allowances for replacement could be based. The consultative committee on war damages was enlarged in June by adding to it the presidents of the commissions of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies having to do with legislation affecting the liberated departments, together with two representatives each of agriculture, industry, and commerce.

These steps were followed on July 16 by the creation of an economic council, charged with the preparation and execution of a general plan for the supply of food and other necessaries in the liberated regions, the reduction of the cost of living, the repression of speculation, and the general development of economic life. The council, over which the Premier presided, comprised eight Cabinet ministers and was expected to meet at least once a week. To it was attached a permanent commission, including among others five undersecretaries of state, the president of the old interministerial committee, and three representatives each of employers and workers. Besides serving as a kind of executive committee of the economic council, the permanent commission was also charged with the establishment of relations with municipalities, agricultural, commercial, and industrial groups, organizations of workers or employers, coöperative societies, and other bodies.

The precise relation which the economic council was expected to bear to the various ministries concerned with reconstruction is not clear. Practically it was another interministerial committee, but having to do with the formulation of general economic policies

rather than with the more troublesome task of insuring ministerial coöperation.

In order to secure still greater unity in the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, the central and departmental services of the ministry were in August reconstituted. In the central administration the administrative and technical functions were separated, the latter now including materials, transport, labor, reconstruction of highways and local railways, and agriculture. In each department the prefect was made the administrative head of all branches of the service, and the director as well of all the technical services and of all work undertaken by the state. To any one familiar with the number and variety of duties which devolve upon a prefect in ordinary times, the additional duties imposed by the new decree would seem to have constituted an almost impossible burden, notwithstanding the fact that the decree associated with the prefect a secretary-general for administrative work and a director-general for technical matters. A service of control, constituted on September 8 for the supervision of the execution of laws, decrees, etc., by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, was also transferred to the prefects on October 2. The net effect of the two decrees was to make the prefect the most important agent in reconstruction next to the Minister of the Liberated Regions himself.[1]

Shortly after the armistice the Ministry of the Liberated Regions obtained an absolute right of priority

[1] For a model of luminous exposition of a complicated subject see the circular addressed by the prefect of the Nord, M. Armand Naudin, on November 11, 1919, to the administrative agents having to do with the cantonal commissions for the evaluation of war damages (*Bulletin des Régions Libérées,* June 6, 1920).

in the purchase of such material in the left-over army stocks of the Allies as could be utilized in reconstruction. A special service of cessions, organized in December, 1918, supervised the examination of the stocks accumulated at the various depots throughout France and the selection and distribution of the material. Included in the acquisition were between forty and fifty thousand horses and mules from the American depots near Coblentz, Neufchâteau, and Châtillon-sur-Seine. Down to June 30, 1919, property to the value of 438,755,000 francs, comprising wagons and automobiles, medical supplies, chemicals, machinery and tools, barraques, clothing, furniture, and more than two thousand varieties of construction material had been ceded to the ministry and was in process of distribution or sale for the benefit of sinistrés.

A further reorganization of the central administration of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions on January 10, 1920, was shortly followed by a larger step in the direction of consolidation. The office of industrial reconstruction, from the nature of its functions one of the most important agencies which had been created, had undergone varying fortunes. First organized in August, 1917, it had been transferred in December of that year to the hybrid Ministry of Blockade and of the Liberated Regions, where it remained until November, 1918, when the reorganization of the Ministry of Armaments and War Fabrications transferred it to the new Ministry of Industrial Reconstruction. It was now detached from the latter ministry and incorporated in the Ministry of the Liberated Regions. The main lines of railway having

by this time been returned to their owners, practically all of the work of material restoration within the war area, except monuments, was at last centralized in the hands of a single ministry. The economic council dropped quietly out of sight, and the interministerial committee, which had been again reorganized in December, 1919, appears to have taken no action which became a matter of public record. Indeed, through a provision empowering the president of the committee to study on the spot questions which came before the committee when authorized to do so by the Minister of the Liberated Regions, the committee was virtually subordinated to the ministry.

Save in one important respect which will presently be mentioned, later administrative changes were mainly formal. The various services grouped within the Ministry of the Liberated Regions were from time to time rearranged, but the general system remained the same. The special committee which had been formed in September, 1917, to deal with the question of housing was revived in April, 1920, with an enlarged membership, and intrusted with the study of general questions affecting reconstruction. This action, practically of little importance, was followed on May 3 by the establishment of a superior council to deal with materials, labor, and transport. It was hoped that this body, the membership of which included representatives of numerous associations of employers, would be able to formulate an annual program of rebuilding based upon the resources of the budget and the available supplies of material and labor. Nothing of the kind appears to have been done, however, and the

history of the council is mainly comprised in the record of its formation.

To the sinistré, bereft of his property by the war and anxious now that the war was over to recover his damages and reëstablish his occupation, business, or profession, changes in administrative personnel or in the distribution of departmental duties were of relatively small interest. What he was chiefly concerned with was the speedy settlement of his claim to indemnity, prompt payment of damages, an adequate supply of material and labor for rebuilding, and temporary provision of shelter, food, and supplies until he could once more stand upon his own feet. On all of these points the volume of complaint from the invaded departments continued to be large and its flow unbroken. The evaluation of damages, it was urged, went on at a snail's pace, disputes multiplied, and papers lay for months in the offices of prefects or commissions without signature or consideration. Spokesmen for the sinistrés affirmed that there was still a serious lack of houses, that building material was difficult to obtain, that the railways were dilatory and government agents indifferent. Even after damages had been evaluated and the whole elaborate dossier of records made complete, government appropriation, it was averred, covered only a small part of what had been allotted and payments were delayed. Charges of incompetency, speculation, graft, and collusion filled the air and found an echo in Parliament and in the press. If the complaints were to be taken as the sole basis of judgment, the benefits of reconstruction were being reaped chiefly by salaried functionaries and rich com-

mercial or industrial organizations, while the mass of the population was being systematically neglected.

So far as certain formal aspects of its work were concerned the Ministry of the Liberated Regions is not fairly to be charged with neglect. More than a thousand circulars, blanks, instructions, and papers of various kinds testify to its ceaseless activity in creating apparatus. Elaborate directions for the procedure of the cantonal commissions and the tribunals of the arrondissements, long instructions to the prefects and ministerial agents, explanations of provisions in the law of war damages and answers to questions submitted for decision, approved lists of architects and specimen forms of contracts, price lists of materials for sale, injunctions to commissions and agents to use courtesy and discretion and to commissions, agents, and sinistrés to make haste, proposed laws and decrees embodying needed changes in previous enactments, blank forms for everybody: these documents and many others, covering apparently every point that the work of reconstruction could raise and spread broadcast throughout the liberated regions, are tangible evidence that the administrative mill was grinding even though the grinding was exceeding slow.

It is to these multitudinous documents, primarily designed for engineers, architects, contractors, lawyers, and property owners, that one must go for an understanding of the practical working of the reconstruction policy. Here as nowhere else is to be read the story of success and failure, of experiments made and problems solved, of difficulties encountered and obstacles removed. So much of the system as has particularly

to do with finance or with the restoration of mines, factories, railways, and agriculture will be discussed in later chapters, but certain features of a general character may properly be considered here. The question of war damages, the crux of the system, naturally comes first in order.

The procedure for the evaluation of war damages as laid down in the law of April 17, 1919, and the ministerial instructions relating thereto is in substance as follows. Immediately upon the announcement by the prefect that a cantonal commission has been organized, the sinistré is at liberty to file with the commission, or with the mayor or prefect if he so prefers, a statement of the losses which he has sustained. The statement, in the preparation of which the assistance of an approved architect or other expert will probably have been invoked, is to be as specific as possible and must show, in addition to the estimate of losses, any counter-claims or offsets such as mortgages, liens, customary rights, or promises of sale. Upon the presentation of the claim, properly certified, the sinistré, if he proposes to reëmploy his indemnity in rebuilding, is entitled to an advance payment on account of the total indemnity to which he appears to be entitled.

The amount of the indemnity which the law accords depends upon whether or not the sinistré proposes to reëmploy his indemnity in the same general way in which the original property was employed, either in the same commune or, in special cases, elsewhere in the invaded area. If the indemnity is not to be reemployed—if, that is, the sinistré proposes to take his indemnity and use it as he pleases, without assurance

that the money will be employed in reëstablishing what has been destroyed—the amount of the indemnity is limited to the estimated value of the property, allowance being made for depreciation, on the eve of mobilization in 1914. If, on the other hand, the indemnity is to be reëmployed, the amount is increased or "supplemented" by an amount representing the estimated cost of rebuilding or restoration at the time the claim for damages is allowed.

In order to make possible an equitable and uniform treatment of sinistrés at this point, elaborate inquiries were instituted by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions into costs of material, labor, etc., in 1914. Similar inquiries were made for the period following the armistice. In practice, accordingly, the amount of the indemnity due in the case of reëmployment was determined by multiplying the estimated value of the property in 1914 by a figure representing the number of times which building or other costs had increased between 1914 and the date of the award. This figure, known technically as the coefficient, naturally varied at different times, for different materials, and for the same material in different departments. Until the end of 1920 the coefficients adopted ranged in general from 3 to 6; in 1921 they declined to from 4 to 5 or 5.5. The tables of values prepared by the technical services of the ministry were not, indeed, binding upon the cantonal commissions or the tribunals of the arrondissements, or upon the experts whom the sinistré might call upon to assist in the evaluation of his losses, but they appear to have been generally used.

The working of the system in cases in which the

indemnity was not to be reëmployed was relatively simple, since all that was necessary was to establish the value of the property in 1914 as determined by the estimated cost of rebuilding at that time. In the case of furniture and personal property generally, the valuation for the purpose of indemnity was the estimated cost of replacement at the time of loss or injury. The problem became more complicated in the case of intended reëmployment. If, for example, the sinistré proposed to rebuild his property with a different and more expensive material or on a larger scale, or if a part only of the indemnity was to be reëmployed, the calculations must take account of all the various differences in cost. Many sinistrés began rebuilding before their damages had been evaluated, and in such cases account had also to be taken of the work already done. If, on the other hand, the settlement of claims was long delayed and the coefficients of reconstruction rose during the interval, the sinistré naturally demanded a revaluation for the purpose of recovering the increase in cost; while if in the interval between the first advance on account and the final settlement the coefficients had dropped, the cantonal commissions were prone to claim for the state the benefit of the change. The function of the commissions was limited to the establishment of the facts concerning the loss and the provisional estimation of the indemnity due. The commissions were also to do their best to reach an amicable agreement with the sinistré on these points in case their judgment was questioned. The final decision as to the amount of the indemnity, however, rested with the tribunal of the arrondissement, whose

decision was conclusive unless an appeal on legal grounds was taken to the Council of State.

It is difficult to see how the government could, on the whole, have adopted a better plan. War damages could not properly be paid without evaluation, the great differences between costs of reconstruction or replacement in 1914 and similar costs after the war were certainly to be taken into the account, and payment in installments was the only method financially possible. It is clear, however, that at this crucial point the reconstruction policy came near to breaking down. M. Louis Loucheur, Minister of the Liberated Regions, in an address at Albert on April 24, 1921, stated that of 2,750,000 dossiers embodying the claims of sinistrés only 800,000 had thus far been adjudicated by the cantonal commissions; and while he professed himself hopeful that the task would be completed by December 31, he could give no real assurance that that result would be attained even if the commissions spurred themselves to the maximum of effort. Four months later he could hold out no better hope than that the number of dossiers remaining to be examined would be reduced to 800,000 at the end of the year.[1] In other words, about one-third of the claims would still be awaiting settlement at the end of 1921, two years and nine months after the adoption of the law of war damages.

There were various reasons for the delay. The cantonal commissions were not always promptly organized, not all were competent or energetic, and the numerous changes of procedure instituted by laws and

[1] *Le Temps* (Paris), August 10, 1921.

decrees entailed hesitation, confusion, and waste. As late as August, 1921, complaints were numerous that the evaluation of damages for agricultural losses was being postponed, and that all the dossiers of a given sinistré were rarely considered at the same session. Evaluations made before the adoption of the law of April 17, 1919, were subject to revision after that date, at the demand of the sinistré, if the supplementary indemnity was still to be reëmployed. The sheer mass of papers to be examined swamped commissions and prefects at the same time that the elaborate formalities of official red tape cumbered progress. It was obvious enough that the commissions had more work than they could keep up with, but it was also obvious that their pace was neither steady nor rapid.

Efforts on the part of the government to remedy these difficulties were not lacking. A law of April 27, 1920, authorized municipal councils to form communal syndicates for the purpose of helping the reconstruction of localities that had been destroyed. Another law of August 25 called for the filing of all demands for indemnity before December 1 unless such action by that date was physically impossible. In November the government itself took a direct hand in the matter by establishing in each department, under the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, an administrative service of evaluation to instruct and direct the cantonal commissions and the tribunals of the arrondissements, with a view to enabling those bodies "to proceed promptly to the making of equitable estimates according to rational methods." In June, 1921, a service of inspection for the commissions and the tribunals was added

and additional commissions were created in a number of cantons.[1] It is a fair question whether so much of this legislation as made the state directly a party to the proceedings of the commissions and tribunals did not violate the spirit of the law of April 17, 1919, which seems clearly to have intended to leave both commissions and tribunals, the former as examining bodies and the latter as courts, free to perform their duties without administrative interference.

A more commendable step was the creation in May, 1921, of a temporary superior commission of war damages for the adjudication on appeal of cases, hitherto devolved upon the Council of State, referred to it by the tribunals of the arrondissements or the prefectorial councils. The commission was a strong body, comprising in its membership, in addition to four members of the Council of State and six members of higher courts, two professors of the Paris law faculty and two lawyers. It was slow in getting to work, however, its first formal session not being held until September 8 and its first public session only on October 22.

Not all of the responsibility for delay is to be laid upon the cantonal commissions, or the tribunals of war damages, or the prefects, or the ministry. Many sinistrés, especially among the peasants, were ignorant, unfamiliar with administrative formalities, and often unable of themselves to prepare the estimates and other papers required. The most strenuous efforts on the part of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions to explain the legal requirements in simple terms and to

[1] An eighth commission for St. Quentin was organized in May, 1921, and a third for Reims in August.

bring the explanations to the attention of everybody often failed to secure a prompt filing of papers with the cantonal commissions, or to induce inattentive sinistrés who had taken the first step to take the others which were necessary. Many sinistrés fancied that they had fulfilled all of the requirements when they had made a preliminary declaration of their losses; some thought that the demand which they had filled out for an advance payment constituted the whole dossier required; still others interpreted the visit of a technical expert as implying an evaluation upon which the commission would base its decision. The difficulties of evaluation increased where buildings had been only partially destroyed, or where rebuilding had already been begun or even completed, or where salvaged material had been used or was available, or where usable material had been stolen or carried off and could not be traced, or where experts disagreed. The allowance by the law of war damages of an interval of two years from the end of the war as the limit of time for filing declarations regarding the purpose to reemploy an indemnity was a further cause of delay. Not all of the sinistrés were honest, and inflated claims for damages had always to be guarded against.

The magnitude of the task and the difficulties to be overcome in performing it had obviously been underestimated. Beyond a certain point, and that a point much nearer than had apparently been assumed, the machinery of evaluation could not be speeded. Nevertheless the total of accomplishment was considerable. Down to May 1, 1921, there had been deposited with the cantonal commissions 2,785,164 demands for in-

demnity, representing estimated actual losses of 34,065,475,725 francs and indemnities of 105,920,002,046 francs. Decisions had been rendered in 844,499 uncontested cases. These decisions awarded indemnities for actual losses of 2,674,110,035 francs as against 3,177,326,125 francs demanded, and total indemnities of 8,077,928,357 francs as against 8,571,926,325 francs demanded. The number of contested cases was 16,212, involving allowances of 53,809,947 francs for actual losses in place of 94,480,087 francs claimed, and total indemnities of 157,936,358 francs in place of 257,140,595 francs asked for. About thirty per cent. of the cases filed had been decided, and two per cent. of the decisions had been contested. The indemnities accorded, on the other hand, represented only a little more than ten per cent. of the total claims. In the contested cases the amount accorded by the commissions was about 100,000,000 francs less than the amount claimed.

In addition to the indemnities for war losses, the government also assumed the cost of clearing ruins and removing débris. The magnitude of the task was appalling. In Armentières, for example, upwards of 100,000 wagon loads of débris had eventually to be removed. A call for bids for a part of this work, made in January, 1920, was based on an estimated expenditure of 2,046,000 francs. Provisional estimates of the cost of clearing in eleven other communes of the Lille arrondissement ranged from 51,000 to 625,000 francs, while the estimated cost of a single section in Lille itself was 983,000 francs. Similar estimates for a group of twenty-two villages near Châlons-sur-Marne in

January, 1921, varied from 30,000 to 1,135,000 francs; for 59 communes in the Somme at the end of October, 1921, the combined estimate was 6,929,000 francs. Brick and stone that could be used for rebuilding were cleared and piled on the property to which they belonged, wood was sorted for lumber or fuel, and metal was assembled at the railway for sale and transportation as junk. Of the remaining material some was used for roads and some for concrete construction, but the larger part was carried by wagons, trucks, or light railways to waste places and dumped. Salvaged material was the property of the state, but such material as could be used for rebuilding was ceded to the sinistré if the indemnity was to be reëmployed.

An organized effort to solve the problem of provisional shelter for the returned population was made by the construction, throughout the devastated area, of large numbers of temporary houses, in addition to utilizing such abandoned military barraques, shops, and other buildings as could be made habitable. These temporary houses were of various kinds. The larger number were of wood, built in standard sizes with two, three, or four rooms each. Others were partly of wood but with roofs of tarred paper, canvas, or metal. Still others were adaptations of the famous Nissen huts, formed of three curved sections of corrugated iron bolted together, closed at the ends with wooden framework, and reënforced in some cases with an outer layer of brick or cement. More recently houses of reënforced cement or concrete have been introduced. Temporary granges and stables were also provided, stable and house being often combined under one roof as is frequently the case in French agricultural districts.

The provision of temporary houses was naturally most extensive in manufacturing or mining centers. In March, 1920, for example, the prefect of the Nord called for bids for 2,000 houses of various types at Lille, Douai, Cambrai, Valenciennes, and Avesnes, in addition to 400 at places to be determined later. In July, 1921, bids for 1,360 houses in the regions of Marcoing, Cambrai, Valenciennes, Avesnes, Haubourdin, Armentières, Hazebrouck, Bailleul, and Douai, in the same department, were invited, the estimated cost being 4,554,000 francs.

In some cases occupancy of these temporary houses was free, but the larger number of houses and other buildings were rented, or sold at prices substantially less than the cost of construction. In the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, for example, a circular of March 1, 1921, offered for sale at from 3,550 francs to 4,800 francs wooden houses costing from 6,000 to 8,500 francs, if the houses were to be occupied by the sinistrés, and otherwise at cost. The rental price was fixed at two per cent. or five per cent. respectively of the cost price. Farm buildings of different types, costing from 4,050 to 8,500 francs, were sold under similar conditions for from 3,037 to 6,275 francs, with rentals at two or five per cent. as in the case of houses. A ministerial circular of March 30 fixed a uniform valuation for all the departments of from 6,500 to 10,200 francs for houses of from two to four rooms, 1,450 to 6,200 francs for four types of farm buildings, and other prices for large barraques or buildings for special purposes, rentals continuing to be reckoned at two or five per cent. according to whether the building was or was not to be occupied personally by the

sinistré. Wooden buildings of standard sizes, delivered in demountable condition by the ministry, were usually subject to a further substantial reduction of the estimated value in case the sinistré undertook to put the sections together.

No part of the ministerial policy has been subjected to more severe or constant criticism in the press, in Parliament, and in the invaded departments than its housing program. It has been charged that the provision of temporary houses has been wholly insufficient, thousands of families in the devastated area being still compelled to live in shacks, or dugouts, or dilapidated army barraques, or in a room or two of a ruined house hastily repaired. The wooden and iron houses, it is alleged, are cold in winter and hot in summer, crowded beyond possibility of cleanliness or decency, and sadly lacking in water supply and sanitary facilities. It is averred that many of the wooden houses are shabbily built and soon fall out of repair, and that the rentals charged are out of all proportion to the accommodations provided. The intimation is heard that the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, unable to cope with the housing problem, is in reality willing that the temporary structures shall continue to be occupied indefinitely, and to that end has encouraged the construction of semi-provisional houses or houses of durable material. Strong objection has also been voiced to the policy of forcing the long-continued occupancy of wooden or slightly built concrete houses upon a people who are accustomed only to solid and permanent buildings of brick or stone.

There can be no doubt that the housing situation is distressing. Of the 4,165,253 inhabitants of the dev-

astated zone on May 1, 1921, 252,603 were living in wooden barraques, 82,717 in houses classed as semi-provisional, 159,214 in provisional houses of wood, and 103,553 in provisional houses of durable material. Here and there neat fencing, well-kept gardens and flower beds, fresh paint, and dainty curtains at the windows testify to the taste, perhaps also to the prosperity, of the occupants, but the overwhelming mass of the temporary houses are unsightly structures void of paint, shabby in appearance, destitute of even primitive conveniences, and crowded to repletion with the men, women, and children for whom they are as yet the only home. The situation is at its worst in the smaller towns, in cities which, like Albert, were almost completely wrecked, and on the outskirts of larger cities where the very poor have congregated, but it is bad everywhere.

Bad as it is, however, it is better than it was. Although 599,087 persons in the devastated zone were on May 1, 1921, living in temporary houses, 1,573,080 were at the same date living in houses that had been repaired; while of the remaining population of 2,172,-167 far the larger number were lodged either in buildings that had received little or no injury or in new buildings erected on new sites. The replacement of houses totally destroyed had, unfortunately, made small progress, only 9,140 out of a total of 293,039 having been replaced at the date named; but 182,682 houses out of a total of 435,961 classed as seriously injured had been provisionally repaired. Account must also be taken of the very large number of permanent houses of brick, stone, concrete, or cement, running into the thousands in the aggregate, which have been

erected by manufacturing or mining corporations and the railways for the use of their employees. The fact that rebuilding is inseparably bound up with the question of the settlement of claims to indemnity for war damages, while not an excuse for negligence in providing temporary shelter, is another factor in the problem of which account must be taken.

It cannot be denied that the Ministry of the Liberated Regions has from the first devoted much more time and energy to the reconstruction of industrial establishments than it has given to the reconstruction of houses. Severely as this policy has been criticized, and distressing as have been its consequences in personal and domestic discomfort, there is nevertheless something to be said in its defense. Given the situation which obtained in the invaded departments at the close of hostilities, housing was not the first or most important consideration. Before material of any kind could be gotten into or out of the region, the main lines of railway and the main highways must be restored. Until mines and factories were reëstablished there could be no revival of industry, no employment for returning industrial workers, no near-by market for the farmers. Before the farmer could safely plow his field, put a spade into his garden, or replant his orchard or vineyard his land must be grubbed over for unexploded shells and grenades, barbed-wire entanglements lifted, trenches and shell holes filled and leveled, and the débris of war removed. It was inevitable, it would have been inevitable even if money in unlimited amount had been available, that under these circumstances housing should wait until the fundamental economic life of the devastated regions had been some-

what reëstablished, and that the returning population should be left for a time to make such shift as it could. Now that the restoration of industry and agriculture is well advanced and the restoration of transport nearly complete, the serious problem of housing need no longer be neglected.

The following figures, compiled to May 1, 1921, show in various other directions what had been accomplished and what remained to be done.

Of the population of 4,690,183 found in the devastated zone in 1914, 4,165,253, or 88 per cent., had returned.[1] Municipal life had been resumed in all but forty of the 3,256 communes in which it had been suspended. Public instruction had been resumed in 6,830 out of 7,271 primary schools, in 74 out of 79 secondary or higher schools, and in all of the 23 commercial or professional schools. Of the post offices, 1,284 out of 1,292, and of telephone stations, 31,431 out of 34,716, had been reopened and 2,342 communes had telegraphic service.

In the reconstitution of the soil, 2,934,128 hectares had been cleared of explosives, and 2,787,120 hectares were free of explosives, trenches, and barbed wire. 21,370,800 tons of munitions had been destroyed, 239,666,481 cubic metres of trenches out of 333,000,000 cubic metres had been filled, and 276,849,242 square metres of barbed wire entanglements out of a total of 373,000,000 square metres had been lifted. Of a total of 29,851 wells destroyed and 91,257 injured, 52,017 had been put in condition and 4,249 had been constructed.

The number of communes in which boundary lines

[1] See Appendix D.

had required reëstablishment was 1,637, while 400 communes had asked for some readjustment of their territory and 222 communes had requested both the readjustment of territory and the relocation of boundaries. In 843 communes the cadastral plans[1] had been destroyed, and some 30,000 drawings and tracings were required by the work of replacement. Of the 52,734 kilometres of highways needing restoration, 13,481 kilometres had been completed and the remainder more or less repaired. In addition 2,945 bridges had been temporarily or definitively replaced.

Never in history have a people and their government accomplished so great a task in so short a time.

The provisions of the law of war damages of April, 1919, applied to the French colonies and protectorates as well as to the pre-war departments of France, but the conditions under which the application was to be made effective were left for later determination. In March, 1920, the law became operative, with certain necessary changes of detail, in all the colonies and protectorates except Tunis and Morocco. In September its principal provisions were also extended to the three departments of the Bas-Rhin, Haut-Rhin, and Moselle which had been formed out of the territory recovered from Germany in Alsace and Lorraine. A similar extension has, in general, been given to all the later important modifications which the law of 1919 has undergone.

[1] The cadastre is a public record containing drawings and details of the real estate of a commune, and used for purposes of taxation.

CHAPTER VI

THE RESTORATION OF TRANSPORT

THE restoration of transport is the most brilliant exploit in the history of reconstruction in France. From the nature of the case the railways could not withdraw in the face of invasion, and while rolling stock, records, and personnel were evacuated as the German armies advanced, the roads themselves were under obligation to continue operations to the fullest extent possible throughout the whole period of the war. At the end of the war, moreover, they were called upon to handle the immense volume of traffic due to demobilization and the demands of general economic reconstruction at the very moment when they must also begin to rebuild. The success with which the two railway systems which serve the invaded area coped with the task merits the highest praise. In spite of unparalleled losses in rails, roadbed, bridges, tunnels, stations, and equipment, with the material that remained usable after the war worn to the limit of safety by unprecedented usage, and with difficult problems of credit, labor, and engineering to solve, all of the main lines and branches have been restored, most of the local lines are in operation, the replacement of stations and other structures is well advanced, freight and passenger service has been re-

established on approximately the same scale as before the war, and schedules of departure and arrival are generally maintained. In addition to the railways, most of the canals have resumed operations and most of the main highways have been restored to their pre-war condition.

The railways of France are divided for administrative purposes into two classes, those of general and those of local interest. Those of general interest are comprised in six great systems, each of which serves in the main a particular section of the country. Of these systems two, the Nord and the Est, both radiating from Paris toward the frontiers of Belgium, Luxembourg, and Alsace and Lorraine, traverse the devastated departments, and are consequently the only ones that will be particularly dealt with here. The railways of local interest comprise a large number of short lines, some of standard and others of narrow gauge, some using steam and others electricity, some operated as transportation lines pure and simple and others as adjuncts to mining or manufacturing enterprises. Taken together, the general and local lines constitute a network which covers all parts of the invaded area.

Both the location and the grouping of the French railways have been determined by military as well as economic considerations. Long before the war of 1914 an elaborate system of military administration and control had been worked out which embraced every detail of operation and personnel. Immediately upon mobilization, accordingly, all the railway systems of the country passed under the control of the military authorities. Two zones were recognized, that of the

army and that of the interior, the railways of the former being under the immediate direction of the commander-in-chief while those of the latter were under the direction of the Minister of War. The line of demarcation between the two zones, however, was determined by military events, and the general limits of the zones accordingly changed repeatedly as the war went on.

The magnitude of the task which devolved upon the government in the matter of transport led eventually to important administrative changes. In November, 1916, a director-general of transport was appointed under the Ministry of War, with supervision of all matters relating to transport by railways, inland waterways, and sea. The needs of commerce and industry as well as those of the army dictated the change. Hardly had the new director-general been appointed, however, when he was replaced, in December, by an under-secretariat of state for transport, with a jurisdiction expanded to include maritime ports, roads, automobiles, railways of local interest, and establishments using water power or distributing electrical power. In May, 1917, the entire civil and military personnel employed in transport was also placed under the general control of this under-secretariat. So much of the work of administration as fell within the army zone was delegated to a director, but the general authority remained with the Ministry of War.

In September, 1917, the whole system of control was transferred to the Minister of Public Works and Transport. As finally reorganized in July, 1918, the jurisdiction of the ministry embraced not only trans-

port by rail, rivers, canals, and sea, but also the initiation of new transport enterprises and the maintenance and reëstablishment of traffic. The immediate direction of military transport continued to rest, by delegation from the ministry, with a director-general, with whom was associated a commission for each of the main railway systems, while on general questions the general managers (*chefs d'exploitation*) of the systems were regularly called into consultation. The decree of February 2, 1919, returning to the railway companies the direction of their lines, did not alter this administrative system so far as military transport was concerned. The railways simply came again under the operation of a law of 1888 which bound them to give absolute priority to the transport of troops, military supplies, and goods of public necessity. A military representative continued to direct military transport and the reconstruction of such lines as the army undertook to restore.

For the railways the beginning of hostilities was dramatic. At about two o'clock on the afternoon of July 31, 1914, the dispatch of trains from German territory across the French frontier suddenly ceased.[1] Telegraphic inquiries brought the reply from German officials that railway service between the two countries had been definitively suspended. At about three

[1] The data which follow are drawn, unless otherwise indicated, from the *Rapports du conseil d'administration*, 1915-1921, of the Chemin de Fer de l'Est; M. Peschaud, *Les Chemins de fer pendant la guerre 1914-1918*, issued as a special number of the *Revue Générale des Chemins de Fer;* C. Javary, *L'Effort du réseau du nord pendant et après la guerre;* and M. Pellarin, *Déstructions opérées sur le réseau de l'est pendant la guerre de 1914-1918*. I am also indebted to M. Javary for numerous facts regarding the Nord system.

o'clock the rails and telegraph lines near the frontier were cut. A few minutes before six o'clock the Est company received orders from the Minister of War to prepare to move covering troops, and in the course of the next four days 302 troop trains were sent toward the frontier. Passenger and freight service, except local freight, continued, but the Est company began the withdrawal of its rolling stock, including 124 locomotives, from exposed points, freight cars were unloaded, emergency traffic connections were arranged, and the system was put upon a war footing. At twenty minutes past four on the afternoon of August 1 came the order for mobilization, to take effect the next day. At six o'clock all time schedules were suspended and military schedules took their place.

The immensity of the labor which now devolved upon the railways can be appreciated only through figures. The transportation by rail of the effectives of an army corps required an average of 80 trains and 4,000 cars. In the twenty days which intervened between mobilization and concentration 42 army corps in 168,000 cars were moved toward the front.[1] This was in addition to the provision which had to be made for the transportation of men to their various places of mobilization and for the movement of colonial troops after their arrival in France. Between August 5 and August 21 the Est system moved 4,064 trains of troops and material, the maximum effort being on August 9-11, when 388,395 men and 384 trains were handled. All of these trains reached their destinations on time. The total of military trains of all kinds for

[1] These figures cover the six railway systems.

the month of August was about 12,300. While this movement was going on civilians, tourists, and foreigners were crowding the ordinary trains in a hurried flight before invasion, and some 40,000 foreign workmen, chiefly Italians, were transported from the industrial and mining centers of Briey and Longwy toward the west and center of France.

The Nord system between August 2 and August 5 handled 3,320 troop trains carrying 870,000 men, 19,000 officers, 277,000 horses, and 70,800 cannon, caissons, and wagons. From October 1 to October 13 more than 1,271 troop trains were moved. The Champagne offensive in the fall of 1915 called for more than 2,000 troop trains; yet even these figures were surpassed during the battle of the Somme, in 1917, when the number of troop trains reached 6,768. In the retreat at Charleroi in August, 1914, the Nord and Est systems handled each from 120 to 170 trains a day. For the defense of the Belgian border and the control of access to the sea, after the German attack at Yser, 72 divisions in 6,000 trains were transported. The total number of soldiers carried by the Nord lines in the course of the war was more than 60,000,000.

The movement of food and hospital trains and the transportation of officers and soldiers on leave entailed labors only second to those of transporting the armies and their supplies. Between August 6 and August 19, 1914, the Nord system handled more than 1,000 food trains, and it had moved more than 60,000 trains of food and munitions by the end of 1915. In 1916 the food trains numbered 51,370, in 1917 44,113, and in the first half of 1918 22,292. The Est system moved

5,287 food trains in 1914, 29,017 in 1915, 33,152 in 1916, 28,006 in 1917 and 23,032 in the first six months of 1918. The smaller figures for 1917 and 1918 are accounted for by changes in classification, not by decrease in tonnage. Hospital trains, each comprising from 21 to 39 cars, numbered for the Nord 3,007 in 1914, 17,006 in 1915, and from 15,000 to 15,800 for each of the next three years. The Est moved 792 such trains in 1914, 10,736 in 1915, and an average of 7,122 for each of the years 1916-1918. The number of trains exclusively for permissionnaires rose, on the Est lines, from 3,750 in 1915 to 34,700 in 1917 and 30,600 in 1918; on the lines of the Nord, from about 4,200 in 1915 to 28,000 in 1917 and 18,800 in 1918.

Precise figures showing the volume of railway traffic involved in the evacuation of the civilian population appear to be lacking, as are also those for the movement of troops during the period of demobilization. The effort of the Est system in evacuating civilians and foreign laborers has already been referred to. The Nord system in ten days moved toward Paris more than 1,500,000 persons from the regions served by its lines. The demobilization of the French forces went on at the rate of about 600,000 per month. To this is to be added the movement of American and British forces to their ports of embarkation, and the transport to central depots of vast quantities of military supplies from the war zone.

In a report submitted to the President of the Republic on March 13, 1919, the Minister of Public Works and Transport, A. Claveille, summarized the losses which the railways had sustained. On the Nord and

the Est systems taken together 2,901 kilometres of double track and 5,600 kilometres of single track had been either destroyed or injured. The figures represented about one-third of the total mileage operated in 1913. A similar fate had befallen 1,510 bridges, 12 tunnels, 590 buildings, and 150 storehouses. The repair shops of the Nord at Hellemmes, near Lille, had been stripped of tools and machinery, and the shops at Tergnier, Lens, Amiens, Épernay, Roye, and Mohon had been rendered useless either permanently or for a long period. All of the locomotive roundhouses in the zone of German occupation were wholly or partially in ruins. The entire system of signals had disappeared, all the switch towers required reconstruction, and telephone and telegraph wires were a mass of débris.

Of the two systems, that of the Nord suffered the most. Practically all of the bridges, viaducts, tunnels, and towers were in ruins. Not only were superstructures wrecked or demolished, but foundations of all kinds were loosened or destroyed by the systematic use of explosives. To the débris of ruined bridges and viaducts which cumbered streams and valleys had in some cases been added locomotives and cars, thrown into the wreckage after the explosion or carried down with the structure when it collapsed. Of many stations hardly anything was left standing. A mass of tangled metal marked the site of the station at Lens, the station at Montdidier was swept clean, a few feet of covered platform were all that survived at Noyon, a fragment of ruined wall was the only part left standing at Laon, and the large train shed of steel and glass at Valen-

ciennes was badly torn and the interior of the station wrecked. Great sections of railway had been blown out or torn to pieces, rails twisted, ties burned, switches destroyed or rendered useless, and wrecked locomotives and cars scattered over the lines. Tunnels had their entrances closed and sections of their roofs destroyed by explosives, water tanks were gone, and terminals were in ruins. The losses of the system included 8 large viaducts, 811 bridges large and small, not counting culverts, 5 tunnels, 583 kilometres of double track, 529 kilometres of single track, some thousands of kilometres of switches and secondary lines, 338 stations, and 115 water tanks.[1]

Numerous bridges on the Est system were destroyed by the French forces in 1914, with the object of impeding the German advance. The foundations of the structures were not injured, however, and the necessary replacements were easily effected by the Germans and later, in some cases, by the railway company itself. The more serious losses came after the battle of the Marne. Of a total of 5,027 kilometres in the Est system, an average of only 3,800 kilometres was operated from 1915 to 1918. The losses to track included 310 kilometres of single track destroyed or displaced, and 1,475 kilometres of single track injured either systematically or as a result of shell fire. The roadbed was extensively injured by the construction of trenches, shelters, and barbed wire obstructions, by bombardment, and by exploding mines, the latter leaving craters measuring in some instances from ten to twenty metres in diameter. 262 covered passageways had

[1] M. Javary, *L'Effort du Réseau du Nord,* 89.

their walls or roofs broken down or their foundations undermined. Of the tunnels, eight were destroyed, and two which had been repaired by the Germans accommodated only a single track and had to be rebuilt. At Perthes, near Rethel, more than 70,000 cubic metres of débris had to be removed before the portions of the tunnel roof which remained could be reached; while at Maure, near Challerange, the quantity of débris to be removed was estimated at from 175,000 to 200,000 cubic metres. The rails had completely disappeared from thirty kilometres of line between Reims and Laon (a total distance of 52 kilometres), 20 kilometres of the line between Reims and Charleville (a total distance of 88 kilometres), 20 kilometres of the line between Bazancourt, near Reims, and Challerange (a total distance of 53 kilometres), and on many kilometres of the lines between Verdun and Sedan, Nancy and Metz, Nancy and Château-Salins, and the line from Paris to Strasbourg. Switches and signals, with all their appliances and connections, had almost everywhere disappeared, water tanks had been blown up, shattered, or overthrown, and nearly all of the hydraulic cranes were gone.

Freight and passenger stations on the Est system had either been leveled with the ground or badly damaged, and about 150 houses for watchmen or crossing tenders had been annihilated. The houses and living quarters provided for employees of the company at Baroncourt, Andun, and Conflans had been rendered uninhabitable, storehouses at Reims, Verdun, and Amagne had been wholly or in part destroyed, and the large locomotive works at Épernay had suffered from aërial bombard-

ment. Telegraph and telephone lines were in ruins, and tools, machinery, furnishings, and movable property of all kinds had been destroyed or removed. The loss of some 12,000 freight cars which passed into German hands was in part made good by an allotment of cars supplied from English railways.

The cost of restoring the Est system to its pre-war condition was estimated in 1919 at 350,000,000 francs for roadway and buildings, 210,000,000 francs for rolling stock, furnishings, tools, and supplies, and 80,000,000 francs for other expenses: a total of 640,000,000 francs. Revised estimates in 1920 raised these figures to 360,000,000 francs for roadway and structures, 437,000,000 francs for rolling stock, etc., and 319,000,000 francs for other expenses: a total of 1,116,000,000 francs. Increased cost of labor and material later swelled the estimate for roadway and structures to 470,000,000 francs, at the same time that the estimates under the other two heads declined to 390,000,000 francs and 300,000,000 francs respectively. The total estimated cost of replacement, however, rose to 1,160,000,000 francs.

The work of reconstructing the railways, never discontinued even while the war was going on, was pushed with amazing rapidity as soon as the war pressure was relieved. On October 27, 1918, two weeks before the armistice, a passenger train from Calais on the Nord system reached St. André, in the suburbs of Lille. Twelve hours had been required for a journey which now consumes two or three, but the line was open. St. Quentin welcomed its first pasenger train on November 28, and by the end of December trains were running to

Cambrai, Douai, and Valenciennes. On New Year's day, 1919, the first passenger train made its triumphal entry into the central station at Lille. A law on January 10 authorized the Minister of Public Works and Transport to take such steps as might be necessary to restore all railway lines to a condition equivalent to that which they had on January 1, 1914, a credit of 600,000,000 francs being opened for the purpose. By the middle of February, three months after the armistice, 595 kilometres of the Nord system in the invaded area were provisionally in operation; by the middle of March 532 kilometres had been added.

The bridge over the Scarpe river at d'Athiés, between Arras and Lens, had been breached by explosion to a width of 58 metres and its two supporting piers had been destroyed. The work of rebuilding the bridge in concrete was begun on November 15, 1918, and was completed in sixty days. The long viaduct at St. Bénin, near Cateau, on the line from Paris to Liège, had had 175 metres of its length blown out; at the end of August, 1919, after four months of labor and the removal of 16,000 cubic metres of ruined masonry, the viaduct was restored. The viaduct at Blangy, near Hirson, had been destroyed by the French in 1914, rebuilt in steel and concrete by the Germans, and again destroyed when the Germans retired. The problem of reconstruction here was rendered difficult by the necessity of removing huge masses of masonry and metal, but at the end of August, 1919, the viaduct was ready for use. The long tunnel at Vauxaillon, between Soissons and Laon, was destroyed at both heads and in the middle by the Germans during their retreat in

1917. It had been largely reconstructed by the railway company when in March, 1918, the Germans again advanced. The Laon head was then destroyed by the French, but the Germans repaired it, only to destroy it again, together with the Soissons head, when they finally withdrew. The work of reconstruction was impeded by severe weather and by the torn state of the ground in consequence of repeated explosions, but on May 15, 1919, less than six months after the armistice, service through the tunnel was resumed.

On September 15, 1919, the Minister of Public Works and Transport was able to report that of a total of 583 kilometres of double track and 529 kilometres of single-track line on the Nord system requiring reconstruction at the date of the armistice, 577 kilometres of double track and all of the single-track lines had been put in condition by September 1. At the same date all but four of the 333 destroyed or damaged stations had been replaced with provisional or permanent structures. The structures other than stations and culverts injured or destroyed numbered 816, of which 269 were small works of masonry, 352 small works with metal roofs, 210 large structures, and five tunnels. Of these, 204 small structures and two tunnels had been completed, 269 small and three large structures and two tunnels were in course of reconstruction, one long viaduct (St. Bénin) was in use, and three other viaducts of 213, 98, and 119 metres respectively in length would be completed by September 15.

On October 1 only a single kilometre of double-track line on the Nord system remained to be rebuilt, and all but 43.9 kilometres of the system were in operation.

Two additional stations had been built, 39 other structures were in process of restoration, and only two tunnels remained to be cleared. On November 1 only 15 kilometres of double track and 12 kilometres of single-track line, made up of short sections in which bridges or other structures were being restored, remained to be operated; all the stations had been reopened, 49 additional structures had been completed, the number of bridges to be replaced had been reduced from 601 to 347, while of the five tunnels only one remained to be cleared.[1]

The reconstruction of the Est system, while less rapid, was hardly less remarkable. Of the 930 kilometres of double track and 201 kilometres of single-track line out of use at the time of the armistice, 789 kilometres of double track and 152 kilometres of single track had been restored to use on September 1, 1919. All but 29 of the destroyed stations had been replaced permanently or temporarily. The structures other than stations destroyed numbered 367; of this number 1 viaduct, 9 bridges, and 13 other structures had been restored. On October 1 the number of kilometres of double track in operation had risen to 848, the number of kilometres of single track to 159, five additional stations had been opened, and 13 bridges and 17 other structures had been replaced. The report of the Minister of Public Works and Transport on November 1 showed all but 94 kilometres of double track and 7 kilometres of single track in operation, all

[1] The reports of the Minister of Public Works and Transport for September 15, October 3, and November 1, 1919, are reprinted in the *Bulletin des Régions Libérées* for September 29, October 27, and November 17.

but two of the stations replaced, 46 out of 214 bridges rebuilt, and five tunnels available for single-track use. The bridge across the Marne at Château-Thierry was completed in April, 1920, and three bridges across the Aisne and nine across the Meuse had been replaced.

These are impressive results, but they are nevertheless far from telling the whole story. Neither the Nord nor the Est system was content to restore its property to the condition in which it had been before the war; they also planned for the future. Those who directed the construction foresaw that in the industrial rehabilitation of the invaded departments factories would be enlarged and improved, the output of the mines increased, and the volume of traffic of all kinds, both within the borders of France and between France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany, greatly augmented. To care for this anticipated increase meant larger and better equipment, improved terminal facilities, and more adequate arrangements at frontier points for the exchange of traffic with foreign lines. The railways had also to consider the readjustment of working conditions due to the application of an eight-hour law for employees.

The policy of the Nord company is especially interesting at this point. Before the war the Nord, although not the largest, was perhaps the best equipped and best administered railway in France. In traffic resources it was peculiarly rich, its lines serving the mining and manufacturing districts of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments and the Channel ports of Boulogne-sur-Mer, Calais, and Dunkerque, and at the same time affording the most direct communication

with Brussels, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and northwestern Germany.

As soon as the principles upon which indemnities for war losses were to be paid had been determined, an understanding was reached with the government regarding reconstruction. The government undertook to repay the actual losses on the basis of values in 1914, plus the cost of replacement, but with the understanding that the company was to be left free to rebuild its system with a view to the needs of future traffic. Further to facilitate this arrangement, the credits voted in payment of indemnities were carried in a special account separate from the annual budgets, any additional cost due to expansion being borne by the company itself. The system of separate accounting applied also to the Est properties.

The next step was to enlarge the land holdings of the company. At all important points extensive purchases of adjoining properties were made, the sinistrés being relieved, by direct sale, of further controversies with the cantonal commissions. The acquisitions were large enough to permit of the rearrangement and enlargement of tracks, yards, stations, and general terminal facilities sufficient for the probable needs of from fifteen to thirty years. Some important changes in location were also made, the most notable of these changes being at Lille, the principal railway center of northern France. Before the war all the freight traffic of Lille, whether from the south, the east, the north, or the west, was handled in a confined space on the eastern side of the city. In the process of reconstruction the entire freight service was transferred bodily to

a large and much more convenient site west of the city, where the terminal facilities installed are now perhaps the best to be found anywhere in Europe, and where the opportunity for expansion is practically unlimited. Similar changes, less radical and imposing but with equal prevision of the future, were made at other important points.

In the matter of houses for its employees the Nord company has shown both energy and thoughtfulness. Some thousands of permanent houses of attractive and varied design, solidly built of brick, stone, or cement and equipped with modern sanitary facilities, have been erected at Lille, Lens, Arras, Amiens, Compiègne, Cambrai, Laon, Hirson, Soissons, and other points, and more are under construction. One of the largest quarters (*cité*) is at Lille, where an extensive village has been constructed to the west of the new freight terminal, again with ample opportunity for growth. The employees' quarter at Laon is also extensive. In addition, the living quarters which are incorporated in most of the new railway stations are larger and better than those which the war swept away, not to mention the improved artistic appearance of the new stations themselves.

An inspection of the main lines and more important branches of the Nord and Est systems in the summer and fall of 1921 showed highly satisfactory conditions. Far the larger portion of the lines is stone ballasted, rails are heavy, and switches and signaling apparatus complete. Provisional ballasting was being replaced by permanent work, and temporary bridges were giving way rapidly to permanent structures of steel, con-

crete, and stone. A very large amount of work in tracklaying, surfacing, and general cleaning up was in progress at terminals and junction points; freight sheds, platforms, and roundhouses were being built, numerous cranes, both traveling and stationary, had been placed, and many new concrete water tanks were in use. Many of the passenger stations are still temporary structures, but all of the larger stations that were capable of repair have either been put in usable condition or are in process of restoration, and scores of new stations have been erected. The new stations, many of them in concrete or cement, embody attractive design and improved facilities for personnel, passengers, and luggage. A number of well-appointed railway hotels are in operation, and restaurant and buffet service has been generally reëstablished. Scores of attractive houses for crossing tenders have also been erected and telephone stations restored. Through express service with sleeping and dining cars has been everywhere reëstablished, and while passenger coaches, especially those of the third class, are generally inferior and trains badly overcrowded, gratifying progress is being made in the introduction of large corridor coaches of all classes and more powerful locomotives.

Of the numerous railways classed as lines of local interest 2,385 kilometres were injured or destroyed, 467 bridges or other structures were ruined, and 439 bridges or structures injured. The work of restoration naturally made much slower progress here than upon the large systems, partly because capital was lacking, partly because the numerous companies involved could not well combine in a common program, and partly

because the reconstruction of main lines was a necessary preliminary to obtaining material for the small ones. In August, 1919, the supervision of the undertaking was attached to the Ministry of the Liberated Regions and intrusted to the directors-general of the ministry in the several departments, these officials being themselves immediately responsible, it will be remembered, to the prefects. By May 1, 1921, 773 kilometres of line had been completely restored, 1,247 kilometres had been more or less repaired, 191 bridges had been provisionally reconstructed, and the restoration of 333 bridges was complete. On June 13, 1921, the further direction of reconstruction was transferred to the Ministry of Public Works.

A special interest attached to the hundreds of kilometres of light railway which had been laid down for military purposes in every part of the invaded area. It was evident that large numbers of these lines, placed as they had been for military uses only without regard either to private property or to the convenience of the civil population, had only to be removed. Many of the lines, on the other hand, were obviously useful for the transport of material for reconstruction, the removal of débris, and the maintenance of local connections with the main railway systems. They offered, in short, a supplementary means of transport of which advantage ought to be taken.

In February, 1919, the Ministry of the Liberated Regions was accorded by the military authorities the control of some of the most important of these lines. A special operating force was organized, wagons, locomotives, and tractors were purchased or taken over

from the army, and the exploitation of the lines was systematically begun. For purposes of operation the lines were presently grouped in six systems—Compiègne, St. Quentin, Laon-Soissons, Châlons-Reims, Verdun, and Vouziers. A local system was also organized at Reims. Lines were relocated and rebuilt, connections established with railways and canals, and a regular service for passengers and freight inaugurated. By August 31, 1919, 1,525 kilometres of light railway were in operation, 230 locomotives and tractors and 3,346 cars were available, and the freight tonnage for the month of August had reached 230,915 tons. In October, 1921, four lines of standard gauge and eleven lines of narrow gauge connecting with the Nord system, and seven narrow-gauge lines in the system of the Est, were being operated by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions.

The war destroyed or rendered useless 1,036 kilometres of canals and navigable waterways, together with 1,120 bridges, locks, or other structures. The heaviest losses were in the departments of the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais, where 750 kilometres were put out of use, and in the Ardennes, where 179.5 kilometres were destroyed. By the middle of September communication between Belgium and Paris had been reopened, and the larger part of the system of inland waterways which connects Paris and Dunkerque was available. Traffic by river and canal between Paris and the northeastern departments had been resumed, and coal from the Saar and Ruhr basins was moving into France by this route. By October from twenty to thirty boats a day were moving through the Marne-Rhine canal, the connection between Paris and the

Nord and Pas-de-Calais had been completed, and coal from the Charleroi region had begun to move toward Paris. By November 1 only 100 kilometres of waterways remained to be cleared of obstructions, rebuilt, and dredged. On May 1, 1921, all but 72 kilometres of navigable waterways, of which 52 kilometres were in the Ardennes, had been restored. A few short sections of canal which were ready for use were not actually in operation in 1921 because of the extraordinary drought which prevailed during that year. A new step of great importance is the proposed electrification of large parts of the inland waterway system, and the work of installation has already been begun.

The restoration of highways, of which 52,734 kilometres needed to be repaired, has not kept pace with the reconstruction of railways and waterways, but there has nevertheless been substantial progress. By May 1, 1921, 13,481 kilometres of road had been put in condition and 30,114 kilometres had been more or less repaired. The number of bridges permanently or temporarily repaired, in the former case often with marked improvements in plan or construction, was 2,945 out of a total of 3,220 which had to be restored. Nearly 5,000,000 tons of material had been used in road and bridge work since the armistice.

The strenuous and unparalleled labors of three years can be summed up in a single sentence. With the exception of the highways, the transport system of devastated France has been practically restored. Some provisional work has yet to be replaced by permanent construction and the final touches of beautification have yet to be added, but traffic of all kinds is moving substantially as before the war.

CHAPTER VII

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDUSTRY

It will probably not have escaped notice that in the account just given of the restoration of the Nord and Est railway systems, administrative control by the government plays an almost inappreciable part. As a matter of fact government administration had very little to do with the process. Aside from financial aid and the assurance of the ultimate reimbursement of their war losses, the arrangements made with the government left the railways practically to themselves. They found their own working capital, outside of government payments, by contracting new loans and drawing upon their reserve funds. They assembled and distributed their own labor and materials, placed orders for equipment at home or abroad practically at their own discretion, and reconstructed their systems according to their own views of present and future needs. The necessary expert service was drawn from the ranks of their own personnel, and while the evaluation of their losses was an elaborate undertaking, their arrangements with the government freed them from time-consuming controversies with cantonal commissions. No question arose as to whether or not indemnities were to be reëmployed. The railways, in short, had a definite and concrete task to perform, and no time was wasted in setting about it.

In the reconstruction of manufactures and other forms of industry, on the other hand, the interposition of the government was everywhere apparent and vital. An elaborate administrative system, operating almost from the beginning with energy and intelligent resourcefulness, came ultimately to embrace within its scope most of the important details of industrial reconstruction, and at the same time helped the process of restoration to go on with rapid strides. It was of course true that industrial establishments, accustomed to keeping of records and accounts, were able to proceed rapidly with the evaluation of their damages, and that their financial resources in reserves and borrowing power were indefinitely greater than those of the farmers; but there is little reason to believe that the industrial revival which has taken place throughout the invaded area would have made the remarkable progress which it has made if the government had not supplied both a coördinating machinery and a driving force. If the restoration of the railways is an illustration of reconstruction achieved primarily through the effort of the corporations themselves, industrial reconstruction affords the best example of what could be done when corporations and government joined hands.

Reference has already been made to the creation in August, 1917, of an office of industrial reconstitution, and to the various steps by which that office was eventually, in January, 1920, attached to the Ministry of the Liberated Regions. The primary duty of the office, acting either directly or through the agency of other organizations to be formed for the purpose, was to purchase materials, tools, and other supplies neces-

sary for the reëstablishment of industrial enterprises, and to arrange for their equitable distribution. The distribution was to be made either on account or by the assignment on the part of the industrial sinistré of an equivalent portion of the indemnity for war damages to which he would be entitled. Supplementary credits in aid of the undertaking were at the same time opened with the Ministry of Commerce, Industry, and Posts and Telegraphs. It was apparently the intention of the law that the service should devote itself mainly to providing material for reconstruction upon which the sinistrés might draw according to their inclination or ability; but the fact that many industrial sinistrés, in the period during which the settlement of their claims to damages was being considered, had little other resource upon which to call made the cession or distribution of material a function of great and increasing importance.

Two dangers confronted the industrial sinistré. He might, because of the losses which he had sustained, become insolvent, or he might, in anticipation of an indemnity not yet adjudicated, overdraw his account and plunge himself into debt. In order to avoid both of these evils the office of industrial reconstitution undertook to make a summary examination of the losses sustained by each sinistré who applied for credits or material, and to determine provisionally a credit which, while less than the amount of indemnity claimed, would also probably not exceed the amount which the cantonal commission would allow. The law of July 5, 1917, provided for an evaluation of damages by experts acting under the authority of the prefects. Experts, however, were few and delay might be disas-

trous. The office of industrial reconstitution accordingly accepted, as complying with the spirit of the law, such statement of losses submitted by the sinistré himself as a representative of the office, following an examination on the spot, could approve. One of the most practical and convincing proofs of loss was that afforded by pictures, and a photographic service was accordingly organized and placed at the disposal of sinistrés. The clearing of débris, at the cost of the state, was also undertaken if the sinistré so desired.

The office of industrial reconstitution further undertook to provide certain materials necessary for immediate use, such as tarred paper or canvas for temporary roofing or building, and other material, such as coal, whose distribution was controlled by the state; to recover and repair material taken away by the Germans; to insure the proper execution of the law of war damages of April 17, 1919, and of the later law of July 31, 1920, providing for the issuance of provisional certificates of damages and the payment of indemnities; and to supervise the definitive preparation of claims to indemnity.

In order that the needs of industry in the various departments might be intelligently and sympathetically met and local effort stimulated, a policy of decentralization was adopted. The liberated regions were divided into eleven sectors—Lille, Valenciennes, Laon, Maubeuge, Charleville, Nancy, Arras, Amiens, Compiègne, Reims, and Paris. Each sector except that of Paris was again divided into sub-sectors, the number of such sub-sectors varying from one to seven according to the industrial importance of the sectors. Special coal-mining sectors were also created at Douai,

Briey, and Nancy. The jurisdiction of the Paris sector included the departments of Seine-et-Oise and Seine-et-Marne as well as that of the Seine. To the Paris sector was also committed, by ministerial decrees or by law, the consideration of questions of damages whose territorial location was unknown, industrial damages involving more than one department or occurring outside of the "liberated regions" as officially defined, and damages in Algiers, or in the colonies, or on the seacoast. The decision of certain general questions relating to damages sustained by coal-mining companies also devolved upon the Paris sector.

In addition to a chief executive officer and subordinate heads of various bureaux, there was formed in each sector and sub-sector a regional committee comprising, besides administrative officials, representatives of chambers of commerce and of local industries. The regional committees were advisory bodies, presided over by the chiefs of the sectors and charged with the consideration of general questions submitted by the chiefs or by the members. Their most important function, however, was to stimulate local effort, to secure as large a use as possible of local material, local resources, and local labor, and to reduce or prevent local unemployment. A financial commission for the sector lent its aid in the preparation of the accounts of sinistrés, and another commission examined the requests for provisional certificates of damages. In a number of sectors the publication of periodical bulletins of information was presently begun.

It remained for the office of industrial reconstruction to give unity and direction to this scheme of sectors and regional committees, without at the same time

impairing regional autonomy. The membership of the office, under the law of August 6, 1917, comprised eight representatives of ministries and eight representatives of commerce and industry, at least half of the latter being chosen from the invaded departments. Under the direction of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions the office undertook to prepare and carry out general plans of reconstruction, to assemble and distribute materials, to supply labor and transport, and to fix the prices at which materials should be furnished to sinistrés. The administrative head of the office was the secretary-general, with headquarters at Paris.

For the purpose of facilitating the acquisition and distribution of materials needed for reconstruction an agreement was concluded on October 4, 1917, under the authority of the law of August 6 of that year, between the Minister of Commerce, Industry, Posts, and Telegraphs and a private corporation known as the Comptoir Central d'Achats Industriels pour les Régions Envahies. This corporation, the capital of which was one million francs and which will be referred to hereafter as the Central Purchasing Agency, undertook to purchase materials, tools, and supplies of all kinds required by industrial sinistrés and to distribute or assemble them under the direction of the office of industrial reconstruction. The handling of industrial materials furnished by the state or recovered from Germany was also intrusted to it. A commission of one per cent. was allowed on expenditures made on account of the state, and a further commission of one-half of one per cent. on the value of materials turned over to sinistrés.

Delivery of materials to sinistrés was to be made by

the agency only where an agreement was entered into by the sinistré to reëmploy the materials in the invaded departments, and with the further proviso, in the case of industries actually in operation, that the quantities of material asked for should not exceed what was normally needed for three months. Prices of material and other supplies were fixed in general at ten per cent. above cost in order to cover transport, handling, etc. Permission was also accorded to the corporation to buy and sell on its own account, but any profits in excess of five per cent. annually on the capital stock were to go to the state. When the service which the agency undertook to render to the state had ended, the corporation would become wholly a private enterprise.

A contract of similar character was made on May 19, 1919, between the then Minister of Industrial Reconstruction and an association of industrials of the Lille sector, organized as the Comptoir Régional d'Achats with a capital of 250,000 francs. To this regional agency was also intrusted the liquidation of certain stocks of material left in British camps.

The creation of the Central Purchasing Agency placed at the service of the industrial sinistré a commercial organization in touch with the market and financially interested in developing as large a volume of business as possible, but with its business methods and its profits strictly controlled. Technical committees established by the agency worked in harmony with the technical services of the government, and an elaborate control of accounts was organized. From the beginning the plan worked well. Offices and warehouses of the agency were promptly established in all

parts of the invaded area, and the systematic distribution of material and supplies was energetically pushed. In practice all sinistrés, whether industrials or not, benefited by the arrangement, the miscellaneous stocks carried by the agency offering facilities not easily obtained elsewhere.[1]

By the end of 1921 the work for which the Central Purchasing Agency was created had been in the main performed, and the offices throughout the liberated regions were being closed and the remaining stocks disposed of.

In order that the supply of material for industrial reconstruction might be regulated with some regard to necessity, requests were classified. Those which ought to be granted with the least possible delay—for example, a request for a motor for a shop which had everything else installed—were classed as of extreme urgency. Requests less pressing but of great importance were classed as of primary urgency, and other important requests as of secondary urgency. Important pieces of work were sometimes declared by ministerial order to be of primary or extreme urgency, and special efforts made to prosecute or complete them.

A central depot of demountable houses, controlled by the office of industrial reconstruction, was established, and efforts were made to encourage the manufacture of such houses and of building or industrial material in various parts of the invaded region. Houses were sold to industrial sinistrés at one-half the

[1] An advertisement of the agency in the Soisson sector in September, 1921, listed among the articles for sale glassware, bedding, bricks, firewood, hardware, kitchen utensils, clothing, barbed wire, barraques in sections, stoves, lumber, pumps, cordage, furniture, tools, machinery, paints, sections of light railway, and numerous other articles. Sales were made against war damages or on account.

cost of production, or rented at an annual rental of three per cent. or two-thirds of the cost price. The state further undertook to erect free of charge groups of workingmen's houses, provided the land on which they were placed belonged to the state or local community or was rented for the purpose, the material of the houses in such cases remaining the property of the state. The liquidation of the French, British, and American army stocks to which the Ministry of the Liberated Regions had a claim was carried out by agents of the office of industrial reconstruction, the duties in connection with the British stocks being shared with the Regional Purchasing Agency at Lille.

Another important part of the work of the office had to do with the supply of electrical motors for industrial establishments, in aid of which a credit of 55,000,000 francs was opened with the Ministry of Public Works. The formation of a company for the construction and operation of a high-tension system of electrical power transmission was authorized by law in August, 1920. The expense of installing the system, which was to cover practically the entire invaded area, was estimated at 135,000,000 francs, and was to be borne in part by the state and in part by the companies or establishments using the power.

In addition to the sums available for industrial sinistrés as indemnity for war damages, and the appropriations of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions carried by the budgets from year to year, very large special credits were opened from time to time in aid of industrial reconstruction. A decree of June 10, 1919, authorized the office of industrial reconstruction to approve advances to the Regional Purchasing Agency

at Lille to the amount of 12,000,000 francs. On September 19 the amount was raised to 50,000,000 francs. Meantime, on July 27, a credit of 20,000,000 francs had been opened for the various sectors, one-half at least of the amount going to the Lille sector. Ten days later 500,000,000 francs was added to the 750,000,000 francs already appropriated by laws of August 6, 1917, and December 31, 1918; this amount was increased by 1,500,000,000 francs on October 22. The total of these advances, which by no means exhaust the list, reached 2,820,000,000 francs, to which is to be added numerous appropriations, some hundreds of millions in the aggregate, in aid of particular sectors.

This in substance was the administrative scheme. The criticism which has been most strongly urged against it is that it favored the industrial sinistré at the expense of the farmer, the merchant, and the professional classes, and that housing was neglected while factory building thrived. There can be no doubt but that the allegations of fact upon which the criticism is based are true. It should be pointed out, however, that the administration of the office of industrial reconstruction, prior to the time when the office was merged in the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, was characterized by an energy and an organizing ability which the other agencies of reconstruction unhappily lacked, that the higher technical staff was exceptionally competent, and that the work of industrial restoration was already well advanced before the office lost its independent status. It has also to be remembered, as has already been said, that while industrial losses were appallingly heavy, comparatively few industrials were ruined by the war, and that those who desired to

rebuild, as far the larger number of them did, usually possessed resources which they were quick to use once they were assured that damages would be paid. The great banking companies of France remained intact, factories which had been making munitions resumed easily the manufacture of machinery and tools, and the great industrial resources of Alsace and Lorraine were in French hands. It would have been strange if, under these circumstances, the revival of industry had not made relatively rapid progress even if governmental organization had not been as efficient as it was.

Whether or not the development of industry at the expense of agriculture and domestic comfort was the best thing for the invaded departments or for the country seems to depend a good deal upon the point of view. There have been and still are in France two sharply contrasted opinions on the subject. It is urged on the one hand that since the rehabilitation of the national life as a whole, and not merely the restoration of particular departments, is the primary aim of reconstruction, that end would best have been attained by first insuring a normal food supply and reëstablishing the people in their homes, leaving the development of industry to follow naturally when these primary necessities of happiness and well-being had been insured. Agriculture, it is insisted, is still the basic French industry, attachment to the soil is still a dominating French characteristic, and it is these fundamental things that ought first to have been considered.

To this it is replied that agriculture, however important, is no longer the occupation of a majority of the French population as it once was; that industrial

workers, although having little attachment to the soil, are nevertheless as much entitled to consideration as the peasants; and that if through delay in the restoration of industrial life the industries which had grown up in the invaded departments had been forced to reestablish themselves elsewhere, the entire economic life of the invaded regions would have been transformed. One of the chief reasons, it will be recalled, for the stubborn insistence by the Chamber of Deputies, in the long debate over the law of war damages, that the reëmployment of indemnities should be made obligatory if anything more than the original value of the property was to be reimbursed, was the fear that the industries of the invaded departments would otherwise not return; but if, having been encouraged to return, they were compelled to wait until agriculture was restored and the population adequately housed, the purpose which the law intended would be defeated.

Whatever the abstract soundness of either theory, it is reasonably clear that neither could, under the circumstances, have prevailed to the exclusion of the other. It was inevitable that the problem of reconstruction, once its solution was begun, should be treated as a whole. Industrial and agricultural forces, however, were unequally matched. Where the industrial element possessed organization, business methods in records and accounting, financial resource, and solidarity of interest, the agricultural element could offer little save primitive methods, an ingrained suspicion of capital and its ways, small property holdings constantly growing smaller, and a profound individualism which made coöperation and sacrifice difficult or im-

possible. So far as political influences entered in to determine the policy of the government, it was an unequal struggle in which industry won. The chief regret to be entertained is that the end which the government sought—namely, the restoration of normal life in all respects—should have been pursued with such unequal energy in the different fields into which the administrative worth of reconstruction was long divided.

A survey made on May 1, 1921, of 4,701 industrial establishments employing at least twenty persons each out of a total of 5,297 such establishments before the war, showed the following results. Of the 4,701 establishments, 760 were employing at least as many persons as before the war, and were accordingly to be classed as industries in which reconstruction was complete. Of this number 207 were metallurgical or electrical works or works manufacturing structural material, 137 were textile industries, 55 were sugar refineries, canneries, food factories, and the like, 14 were mines or quarries, and 347 represented various industries. The number of establishments which had resumed operations, but with a smaller working force than in 1914, was 2,885, of which 712 were textile works and 661 metallurgical, electrical, or construction works. The total number of establishments which were operating in whole or in part was 77.5 per cent. of the number surveyed. A similar survey of 6,340 establishments employing more than ten persons each, out of a total of 8,792 such establishments before the war, showed 4,940 operating in whole or in part.

The number of employees in 1914 in the 5,297 establishments employing at least twenty persons each

was 816,716; in 1921 it was 271,337. To this latter figure is to be added 75,221 persons engaged in clearing or rebuilding. The number of persons actually engaged in production was thus about one-third of the pre-war total. The number of employees in industrial establishments is not, of course, a wholly accurate indication of the volume of production. The figures for 1921, for example, show the number of industrial workers who had returned and found employment, but they do not take account of changes in methods of production, or of the average length of the working day or week as compared with the period before the war, or of strikes. On this point some comparisons made in October, 1921, are informing. Certain important groups of industries—textiles, metallurgy, tools and hardware, chemicals, clothing, leather, and mines —in which production had attained on an average 50 per cent. of its pre-war volume, were employing 55 per cent. of their pre-war working force. As between the several groups, however, the variations were considerable, the percentages of production and employment being, for textiles, 45 and 55 respectively, for metallurgy 50 and 55, for tools and hardware 66 and 63, for chemicals 58.5 and 62, for clothing 58.5 and 73, for leather 45 and 67, and for mines 31 and 36. It would appear from these figures that the widespread unemployment which prevailed in France in the spring and early summer of 1921 was less acute in the liberated regions than elsewhere.

An examination of the list of industries enumerated in September, 1921, shows some interesting variations. Of the six establishments engaged in fine metal work or the treatment of precious stones, all had resumed

operations. Of manufactures of straw, feathers, etc., 93.3 per cent. had resumed, of printing and binding, 89.6 per cent., of tools and hardware 88 per cent., of furniture and woodworking 85.2 per cent., of clothing 83.4 per cent., and of chemical industries 77.9 per cent. The lowest percentages were to be found in the textile industry and in establishments dealing with agricultural products and food, where the figures of resumption were 68.6 per cent. and 62.6 per cent. respectively. Generally speaking, the resumption of operations was most rapid in industries which were represented by comparatively few establishments, or in those in which the cost of new machinery or buildings was relatively small. A resumption of work in only 68.6 per cent. of the textile mills, for example, must be considered along with the fact that 1,237 textile mills were covered by the survey.

Statistical data for a more detailed study of industrial reconstruction as a whole, or for a comparison between the present facilities for production and those which existed before the war, are unfortunately lacking. The statistical methods of the French government leave much to be desired, and French business men are notoriously reluctant to give information about their affairs. Figures compiled by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions to September 1, 1921, for industries of all kinds, show that in the Lille sector, the largest and most important industrial area in the north, about eleven-twelfths of the establishments had resumed operations in whole or in part; in the Valenciennes sector, the next in importance, more than five-sixths, and in the Laon sector, the third in rank, about five-

eighths. The percentage of resumption in the Arras sector was about the same as that in the sector of Valenciennes, and that in the Amiens sector a trifle larger than at Laon. In the Reims, Maubeuge, and Compiègne sectors more than three-fourths of the industries were operating, and in the Nancy sector about five-sixths.

Any detailed treatment of the subject, however, even if statistics were available, would fill a stout volume. The full record of progress in industrial reconstruction is to be read only in the history of the thousands of industries which have been reëstablished, and which are rapidly restoring the industrial life of the invaded departments to a condition approximately that which was enjoyed before the war.[1] Yet for the untechnical observer these details, even if they were accessible, would hardly do more than confirm the general impression which a visit to the devastated departments leaves. To-day the traveler, no matter what manufacturing or mining district he may enter, finds himself in a hive of industry. From the Pas-de-Calais and the Nord to the Meurthe-et-Moselle and the Vosges, in the Marne and the Aisne as well as in the Oise and the Ardennes, factories are under construction or already operating, mines are being restored or actually worked, and railways, rivers, and canals are thickly dotted with shipments of building material, machinery, raw materials, finished products, and coal. Hundreds of factories and mills of which only the wreckage survived at the time

[1] A series of profusely illustrated articles in *Le Monde Illustré*, 1920-1921, gives general sketches of numerous establishments. Both French and English editions are published.

of the armistice are being rebuilt on new and larger lines and with the best modern construction, and equipped with engines and machinery of the latest pattern and of increased productive capacity. Storehouses and cranes, railway connections, slips for canal boats, oil tanks and water reservoirs, and whole villages of solidly built workingmen's houses, are under way everywhere, while the greatly increased use of electrical power is covering the industrial area with a network of high-tension transmission lines. Iron and steel mills, machinery and boiler works, factories for hardware, tools, and chemicals, textile plants, woodworking establishments of various kinds, breweries, brickyards, cement works, and quarries are only the more important evidences of an industrial renaissance of which one is hardly ever out of sight.

The one notable exception to the general record of recovery is the sugar industry. Hardly any of the sugar factories which were destroyed by the war have yet been restored, the 34 plants in operation being either those whose injuries were comparatively slight, or those which were located outside the limits of the war zone. Of the more than 140 sugar factories which suffered on account of the war, at least eleven, it is reported, will not be rebuilt and a number of others will be absorbed by larger companies. Reports for the operating season of 1920-1921, the latest available,[1] showed that in the seven departments of the Aisne, the Ardennes, the Marne, the Nord, the Oise, the Pas-de-Calais, and the Somme 56 companies were considering the reconstruction of their plants, but that in the case of 42 plants the prob-

[1] *Annuaire Sucrier* (Paris), 1920-1921.

able date when work would be resumed could not yet be indicated. The fact that no considerable amount of rebuilding was yet in progress presumably explains the trifling amount reported to have been received for war damages.

Certain special incidents of the industrial revival should not be overlooked. The local chambers of commerce, some of which began even during the period of German occupation to plan for times of peace, have played an important part in the reconstruction program; and the syndicates of employers which are an important element in French industry have acted effectively. Branches of the Bank of France, the Crédit Lyonnais, the Société Générale, and other large banks were promptly reopened throughout the invaded area, and private banking houses have resumed business. Huge loans, mainly subscribed in France, have been floated for reconstruction purposes, sometimes by individual concerns, sometimes by combinations of companies. In December and January, 1921-22, for example, three large companies engaged in the manufacture of machinery, railway and construction material, electrical appliances, etc., with combined capitals of 261,000,000 francs, floated a joint loan, under the name of the Groupement Cail, Fives-Lille, Thomson-Houston, of 185,000,000 francs; while the Groupement de la Grosse Métallurgie, comprising the largest iron and steel companies in the north and east, placed on the market a loan of 500,000,000 francs. Far the larger part of the material used in rebuilding has been drawn from France, far the larger part of the machinery with which the restored factories, mines, and mills are equipped has been made in French

establishments or in those of Alsace and Lorraine, and most of the labor has been French labor. When, in October, 1914, the government declared its purpose to come to the aid of the invaded departments to the fullest extent of its ability, it also announced that the other departments would be called upon to help. No such call has ever been made, but the restoration of industry which is already far advanced, and which two or three years more should see virtually completed, has been in truth the work, not merely of the invaded departments, but of the whole of France.

Finally, it should be noted that with manufacturing industries as with the railways, reconstruction has planned for the future. In hardly any important establishment have the owners been content merely to replace what was destroyed. Larger and better plants, improved machinery and processes, reduction of waste, and increased and more varied output are the aim practically everywhere. No one who has seen the industrial regions of invaded France as the war left them will ever regard the war as a blessing in disguise. Yet the war taught many lessons, and not the least of those lessons was the need of a better and more scientific organization of French industry. That lesson many industrial sinistrés of the north and east have taken to heart. One may reasonably anticipate that within a few years, if labor disturbance and international complications do not prevent, the figures of pre-war production in all primary industries will have been surpassed, and that the products of French factories and mills will have gained a new competitive place in the markets of the world.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RESTORATION OF THE MINES

The mining regions of France comprise two distinct and separated areas: the coal-mining district of the north, lying almost entirely in the departments of the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais, and the iron-ore district of Lorraine, extending from Nancy to the north and west of Metz. Both regions were occupied by the Germans and both suffered heavily, the losses in the coal-mining area being the most serious.

The bituminous-coal region of northern France forms the southwestern portion of a series of coal deposits which extend from Westphalia and the Ruhr district across Belgium to the western part of the Pas-de-Calais. The total length of the basin in France is upwards of one hundred kilometres, the breadth varying from five to fifteen kilometres. The mines are worked under concessions from the state, the concessions of the Anzin company, to the west of Valenciennes, and the Aniche company, to the east and south of Douai, being territorially the largest and that of the Lens company the most productive. The total coal production of the region in 1913 was 27,388,000 tons, of which 20,858,757 tons, or more than half of the total production in France, came from the mines which were requisitioned or destroyed. The latter group of mines

also furnished in 1913 2,241,000 tons of coke, or more than three-fourths of the total French production. The annual output of the Nord mines supplied about seven-eighths of the coal required by the industries of that department.

The Lens basin in the Pas-de-Calais, comprising a number of concessions in addition to that of the Lens company, had before the war an annual output of about 10,000,000 tons and was the most important from the standpoint of production. The Lens company itself, with an output of about 3,500,000 tons from sixteen mines, was also the chief producer of coke.

The German occupation of the mines and their eventual devastation went through several stages.[1] In August and September, 1914, the advance forces of the German right wing reconnoitered the mining basin, but no depredations were committed. Although thirty per cent. of the personnel had been mobilized the mines continued operations. At the end of August such of the personnel as was still subject to mobilization was evacuated and locomotives were withdrawn. On October 1 the invasion began. The Nord mines were not disturbed, but in those of the Pas-de-Calais near to the front work was suspended, many localities were devastated, and offices, storehouses, workingmen's quarters, and works were pillaged and in some cases burned.

The first German advance was followed by about four years of organized occupation. In December, 1914, the Béthune concession was entered; in the fall

[1] The data for the northern basins which follow are taken from an address of M. Stouvenot, chief engineer of mines at Douai, delivered before the Industrial Society of Northern France, May 26, 1921, a copy of which was kindly placed at my disposal by the author.

of 1915 Loos was taken and the advance was pushed to the south of Liévin; in April, 1917, the German line approached Lens. Until October, 1918, however, further changes in the German front were of minor importance, and the line itself did not go beyond Lens. The Nord mines continued to operate under German supervision, but chiefly for local needs; nearly half of their output was eventually requisitioned, however, and a portion of their supplies and machinery was taken. Production in the Nord, which had reached 6,813,761 tons in 1913, fell to 1,289,623 tons in the second half of 1914 and 1,947,158 tons in 1915; it then rose to 2,433,975 tons in 1916 and 2,350,115 tons in 1917. The Pas-de-Calais mines, on the other hand, were subjected to systematic devastation, those not working were stripped of whatever could be carried away, and the pits began to fill with water. Production, which had dropped from 11,847,766 tons in 1913 to 1,644,245 tons in the last six months of 1914, fell to 256,080 tons in 1915, 416,452 tons in 1916, and 281,203 tons in 1917.

The régime of general destruction began in September, 1918. The mines which had continued working under German control suspended operations, and before the German forces withdrew practically all parts of the works, including the company railways, were destroyed by explosions. Lack of time prevented the complete destruction of the linings of the pits except at Lens and Liévin, where even this was successfully accomplished. At 103 places where mining was carried on, comprising 212 pits ranging in depth from 230 to 704 metres, destruction was virtually complete, while 23 other places not actually invaded but under fire suf-

fered more or less damage in their surface installations. All of the hoists except four at Anzin were thrown down; practically all machines except two small extraction machines at Anzin were either ruined or left unusable; large numbers of boilers were injured or displaced; washing machines, screens, and coke ovens were generally demolished, and railways destroyed. Of 18,000 workingmen's houses injured or destroyed, 12,000 were completely wrecked, and 140 pits out of 212 had been ruined.

Save at Béthune, where temporary repairs were quickly made, all of the mines of the Nord and most of those of the Pas-de-Calais were flooded, some of the most important mines, including those at Meurchin, Lens, Liévin, and Vimy, being completely filled before the pit linings could be restored. At the end of 1918 100,000,000 cubic metres of water still remained to be pumped out and 2,800 kilometres of underground galleries awaited reconstruction. No machinery was left for entering the mines, the pumps were gone, railways were a wreck, and there was no power. The estimated value in 1914 of the installations destroyed was about 975,000,000 francs, representing a replacement cost of from four to five milliards.

Before the Germans had withdrawn, however, the work of reconstruction had begun. In the summer of 1917 a commission representing all of the mining companies whose properties had been invaded undertook a systematic study of the problem. As a result of their deliberations four organizations were presently formed. A technical commission, dealing with the question of machinery and appliances, placed orders

which by January 1, 1921, had aggregated 454,535,927 francs. An electrical company (La Société Électrique des Houillères du Pas-de-Calais) undertook to supply electrical power for the Pas-de-Calais mines, and another company (La Société Civile de Dénoyage des Houillères du Pas-de-Calais) devoted itself to the task of pumping and clearing the mines in the same department. When on February 1, 1921, the state ceased to make advances in money and material a fourth organization (Le Groupement des Houillères du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais) was formed which issued a collective loan of 1,200,000,000 francs.

The first task was the restoration of the railways operated by the mining companies. Of these all but about 400 kilometres had been rebuilt by the end of May, 1921. By the same date the clearing of débris had been largely completed, more than half of the 206 hoists had been rebuilt or repaired, and 92 temporary structures for pumping or reconstruction work had been erected. Old machinery was repaired and new electrical machines were installed, and the introduction of electrical power, supplied in part by independent electrical companies, was begun.

In February, 1920, a contract was made with the state for the use of 45 vertical pumps and other appliances for clearing the mines. All the ventilating machinery of the mines had been destroyed and had to be replaced. The reconstruction of the woodwork in the underground galleries, much of which had been weakened or displaced when the mines were flooded, and the restoration of the linings of the pits, were long and difficult tasks in which hopeful beginnings were

made. The reconstruction of screens, washers, coke ovens, and mills was left until the last, the first aim being the restoration of the mines to a point where the extraction of coal could be resumed.

By the summer of 1921 the production of coal in the reconstructed Nord mines had exceeded fifty per cent. of the pre-war figure. The total production for all the mines of the two departments was about one-fourth of the production before the war. Coke ovens were in operation at Anzin, Aniche, Lens, and elsewhere, and the making of briquettes had been resumed. All of the employees' houses in the Nord which could be repaired had been put in order, and some thousands of new houses had been erected. At Lens, where 9,022 houses had been swept away, 1,100 had been rebuilt; at Liévin, where 4,500 houses had been destroyed, more than 800 had been replaced; at Meurchin only 200 houses remained to be built at the end of July, 1921.[1] The personnel of the Nord mines, which numbered 34,044 in 1914, had risen to 36,348, while in the Pas-de-Calais the number of employees reached 34,426 as against 56,558 before the war.

Until February 1, 1921, the expense of reconstruction, as well as the cost of clearing away débris and pumping the mines, was borne by the state, the funds for reconstruction being in the form of advances on account of war damages later to be determined. After that date state advances for reconstruction ceased, but the state continued to pay for clearing and pumping, the cost of these operations being about 80,000,000

[1] The figures for Lens and Meurchin are taken from *La Journée Industrielle*, July 21, 1921.

francs per month. The expenses of further reconstruction, averaging from 55,000,000 to 60,000,000 francs per month, were met from the proceeds of the joint loan of 1,200,000,000 francs already referred to, the security for which was the indemnities which the state had undertaken to pay in installments during a period of thirty years. It is estimated that sufficient funds are available through this loan to enable the work to proceed until the summer of 1922.

M. Stouvenot, from whose comprehensive report the preceding facts are drawn, estimates that the pre-war volume of production will be reached at Anzin and Aniche at the beginning of 1923, at Vicoigne and Azincourt by the middle of that year, and at dates subsequent to 1926 for various large mines of the Pas-de-Calais. The attainment of this result, however, involves a considerable increase in personnel. Taking into account the lessened production due to the establishment of an eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week, the labor supply of the entire northern coal area, which before the war was about 130,000, must rise to 200,000. This means among other things the erection of about 50,000 additional houses at a cost of 1,500,000,000 francs. The interest on this sum at six per cent., apportioned to the annual pre-war production of 27,500,000 tons for the whole basin, would raise the production cost of coal more than three francs per ton.

Taking all these various facts into consideration, it is the conclusion of M. Stouvenot that the work of reconstituting the coal-mining industry had been at the end of May, 1921, about one-fourth achieved. As the work of restoration since that date has continued

without interruption, the percentage of reconstruction accomplished should have undergone considerable increase by the time this chapter is in print.

The remarkable progress which some of the mining companies have made can best be illustrated by some extracts from the report of the Aniche company for the year 1920, submitted to the stockholders on June 7, 1921.[1] The Aniche concession, while one of the largest in area, was not the most productive, its output of coal in 1913 having been exceeded by that of the concessions of Lens, Anzin, Courrieres, Béthune, and Bruay. The company was reorganized as a joint-stock company in 1920, and the report accordingly covers the first year's operations under the new form. The net profits for the year were 7,210,958 francs. The valuation of the real property of the company on December 31, 1920, was 110,961,455 francs, while the capital had been increased during the year from 124,480,000 francs to 160,000,000 francs. The larger part of the cost of reconstruction, aggregating 144,744,420 francs, had been met by indemnities, but the company had also participated in the loan issued jointly by the mines of the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais. The production of coal, which in 1919 amounted to 113,915 tons, reached 586,005 tons in 1920; for the month of April, 1921, the output was 100,392 tons, or about fifty per cent. of the monthly average before the war.

The council of the company reported that the re-equipment of all the locations would be practically complete by the end of 1921. All the ruins had been

[1] Published in extended summary in the *Cote Desfossés* (Paris), November 25, 1921.

cleared except the coke ovens, and the clearing of these was not important because new ovens had been built elsewhere. All the buildings had been repaired or replaced and all the boilers restored. Seventeen metal hoists, three hoists of reënforced concrete, and five provisional hoists of wood had been erected, and the full equipment of ventilators would soon be working. The linings of 24 out of 28 pits, with a combined length of 9,866 metres, had been replaced and the remainder nearly completed. At nine of the twelve locations the pits had been freed from water. Of 350 kilometres of galleries 113 kilometres had been repaired; the more difficult part of this work, however, remained to be done. The briquette works had been restored to prewar capacity, with a record of production of 97,272 tons in 1920 as compared with 8,371 tons in 1919. All the railway lines had been reëstablished and 27 locomotives and 1,500 cars were in use. Workingmen's houses to the number of 3,340 had been completely repaired and 600 houses were under construction, all of the company hospitals were ready for use, and a bacteriological laboratory was being reconstituted.

The iron deposits of Lorraine lie mainly along the former northeastern frontier of France from Metz to Longwy, with a length from north to south of about forty kilometres and an average width from east to west of about twenty-five kilometres. Small portions of the deposit extend into Belgium and Luxembourg; the remainder is divided about equally between the former Lorraine and the French department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, forming in the latter department two subdivisions, those of Briey and Thionville. To

the north and east the deposit ends abruptly with the valley of the Moselle; to the south its disappearance is gradual. The Nancy basin, separated from the northern area by a zone about forty kilometres in width, contains less than two hundred square kilometres as compared with approximately one thousand square kilometres in the Metz-Longwy region, and is relatively less valuable because the ore layers are thinner. The iron ore of Lorraine is commonly known as "minette," a diminutive denoting ore of less than average quality.

At the outbreak of the war eighteen mines were in operation in the Briey basin and fifteen mines in the basin of Longwy. The output of the Briey basin in 1913 was 15,104,000 tons, of the Longwy basin 2,958,000 tons. In the first months of 1914, before the German occupation, the two basins together produced 10,300,000 tons. The Briey mines employed about 15,000 men in 1913 and the Longwy mines about 3,000.

The iron mines were worked to a greater or less extent by the Germans throughout the war. The annual production of ore, however, did not on the average exceed thirty per cent. of the pre-war figures. The largest production was in 1917, when 5,500,000 tons were extracted; in 1918, until the armistice, the amount was 4,700,000 tons. Considerable injury was done by neglect or careless handling, water accumulated, and many shafts and galleries caved or sank. In the end the mines were stripped of most of the equipment that could be removed. Electrical machinery, boilers, compressors, and rolling stock were carried away, as were also tools and usable metal. To this

was to be added some injury due to bombardment or other military operations.

In comparison with the coal mines, however, the damage in many instances was small. In the mines of the Longwy company, occupying a concession of 1,660 hectares and producing before the war 1,500,000 tons of ore annually, there was no loss from bombardment, but most of the installations had to be replaced and many employees' houses required repair. At the Anderny-Chevillon mines the trolley lines, rails, and engines were removed, but the pumps were kept working and the general injury was not great. The Landres mines suffered principally from water. At Amermont-Dommary, on the other hand, most of the surface equipment was destroyed, and the water in the pits rose to within fifty yards of the surface. At Homécourt, where the pre-war output was 1,800,000 tons annually, the galleries opened by the Germans required extensive reconstruction. The Jarny mines lost the larger part of their installations, the central power station had to be rebuilt, and 120 employees' houses suffered from bombardment.

One of the chief difficulties in reconstruction was to keep the mines free from water. Of the thirty-one mines only three had actually been flooded, but in the others many of the pumps were defective, reserve pumps had disappeared, and in 1919-1920 there was a serious shortage of coal. Fortunately, an electric transport line connecting the central works of most of the mines had been constructed by the Germans, and this line, which served to replace local lines that had been destroyed, helped out the scanty stocks of coal. One

of the new plans of reconstruction is the installation of a great electrical power system in which all the mines will share, and which will dispense with the use of coal by utilizing the power from the furnaces.

In November, 1920, two years after the armistice, the mines of the Briey district produced 365,422 tons of ore, those of the Longwy district 82,941 tons; a total of 448,363 tons for the two basins. This was at the rate of 5,380,356 tons a year, or about thirty per cent. of the pre-war figure.

Comprehensive figures showing the revival of metallurgical industries and gas plants are not available for a later date than 1920. By November of that year 27 blast furnaces out of 67 that had been wholly or partially destroyed had been reconstructed, with a capacity of about 1,400,000 tons of pig iron per annum. In twenty furnaces under construction it was planned to use electricity instead of coke. The number of iron foundries destroyed or damaged was 275 out of a total of 302; at the end of 1920, 265 had resumed operations in whole or in part. The revival of the copper industry is shown by 115 plants rebuilt out of 136 destroyed or injured. Of the 200 gas plants in the invaded departments, three-fourths were entirely destroyed. By the end of 1920, 52 plants had been restored and were operating at pre-war capacity, and 42 others were supplying about one-half of the quantity of gas furnished before the war. The place of some forty other plants which are not to be rebuilt will be taken by works using water power.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVIVAL OF AGRICULTURE

THE restoration of agriculture in the invaded departments presents a number of features quite different from those which characterized the reconstruction of railways, factories, and mines. For one thing, agricultural production was never entirely suspended even in the war zone. In spite of the general exodus of population, the destruction of farm buildings, the appropriation of crops and cattle by the Germans in the regions which they occupied, and the necessary overrunning of fields, orchards, and pastures by the French and Allied armies, many farmers continued to work their land even when the land itself was actually under fire. The sight of peasants plowing, cultivating, or harvesting within sight of trenches and batteries, undisturbed by shells which occasionally exploded near by, was not at all uncommon in localities close to the front. On the other hand, comparatively few farmers possessed reserves of capital or savings upon which they could draw after the war, and fewer still could offer anything save their land as security for loans, at the same time that their intense individualism and independent temper made coöperation for any purpose extremely difficult. The losses of war, accordingly, fell with peculiar severity upon a class which, in addition to lack of capital and a coöperative spirit,

could not begin to work until the land itself had been restored by herculean effort, and which even then could not proceed until tools, horses, seed, and food had been supplied.

The position taken by the government with reference to the reconstitution of agriculture has already been indicated in a general way in the account that has been given of the organization of reconstruction and the provision for the payment of war damages. In principle, agriculture took its place with other industries and other forms of property. What had been lost was to be restored, indemnities were to be based upon valuations in 1914 plus the cost of replacement if the indemnity was to be reëmployed, advances in money and kind were to be extended, and the primary cost of clearing and leveling the land was to be borne by the state. There remain to be traced the steps made necessary by the special nature of agriculture as an industry and by the peculiar situation of the farmers themselves.

Partly with a view to making good the serious lack of horses and oxen for farm work, but also with the object of increasing the deficient national stock of food, the Ministry of Agriculture early exerted itself to obtain a supply of tractors. The machines were at first furnished to departments, communes, and agricultural societies by means of a subvention equal to one-half of the purchase price. On May 15, 1917, authority was given to the local governments and agricultural societies to cede the tractors on the same terms to individual farmers who were entitled to war damages, on condition that the farmer should undertake to plant during the following year at least fifty hectares of

wheat or one hundred hectares of various cereals. This was followed on July 16 by instructions to the prefects to grant advances to agricultural sinistrés to an amount not exceeding four hundred francs for each hectare capable of being brought under cultivation. In addition, the preliminary estimates of damages in the case of such sinistrés might be increased twenty per cent. These advances, intended to enable the sinistré to use the tools, seed, etc., with which he had been furnished until he could harvest a crop, were to be charged against the credit of 300,000,000 francs already opened for general reconstruction purposes. Additional credits for the purchase and cession of materials were voted by the chambers in August.

The latter month saw also the creation within the Ministry of War of a special soil restoration service, already referred to, intended to be attached later to the Ministry of Agriculture when the purely military part of the work had been completed, but actually in October transferred to the Ministry of Public Works and Transport. In October the office of agricultural reconstruction was reorganized under an administrative council whose membership included representatives of numerous agricultural associations. In November this office was given control of all the agricultural restoration work throughout the invaded departments.

The pressing needs of the farmers, joined to the fact that the legal provisions for the adjustment of war damages were still under debate in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, necessitated repeated extensions of credit for the purchase of materials, farm animals, and seed. These credits eventually reached large

amounts. Thus on February 8, 1918, advances to agricultural societies were authorized of 200,000 francs when the society comprised only a canton, 400,000 francs when it included an arrondissement, and 800,000 francs when its operations extended over a department. A decree of April 25, 1919, increased the total advances to 1,500,000 francs, while on June 3 the amounts were raised to 1,000,000 francs for societies covering an arrondissement and 5,000,000 francs for societies which included a department. The use of tractors was increasing, but it was not increasing fast enough, and at the end of November, 1918, a special committee was created to investigate the whole question of agricultural machinery and tools, to study the needs of each region, to devise means of increasing the use of mechanical appliances and of training workers to operate and repair them, and to stimulate the improvement of existing models and the creation of new and better ones.

One of the special embarrassments of sinistrés was the fact that they were not permitted to borrow on the security of future indemnities, but were dependent upon government advances which were not only irregular, but which were also in many cases less than might have been secured by loans. The prohibition was doubtless intended to protect the sinistré as well as to protect the state, and it probably would not have occasioned much controversy if the cantonal commissions had dealt promptly with the evaluation of damages, but in practice it often worked hardship. A law of June 21, 1919, relieved the situation somewhat by allowing coöperative agricultural societies in the in-

vaded departments to receive from the state advances in money or kind to an amount equal to five times their capital stock. The privileges of the law were also extended to free syndicates engaged in hydraulic or other work for the benefit of agriculture, and to artisans in rural communities who belonged to local agricultural societies. The proceeds of such advances were to be used only for the purchase and distribution of machinery, tools, seed, and other supplies, and for furthering the sale of farm products.

The purchase of equipment and supplies through societies or other third parties, on account of war indemnities, gave rise to numerous difficulties and to some abuses. Sinistrés complained that they were cut off from buying on better terms at fairs or markets, and that new purchase had sometimes to be made before existing accounts could be settled.[1] To put an end to these troubles the Minister of the Liberated Regions, under whose jurisdiction agricultural reconstruction had now passed, extended to the sinistrés in August the option of making purchases directly or through agencies. In the former case the sinistré called upon the prefect for such advances as were due, assurance being required that the articles to be purchased would be used within two months. As the local agricultural societies and the Central Purchasing Agency had the larger stocks and could make quicker delivery, the majority of purchases continued to be made through them.

One of the most important tasks of agricultural restoration was the replenishment of the depleted stock

[1] Circular of the Minister of the Liberated Regions, August 2, 1919.

of cattle, sheep, and goats. In April, 1919, an agreement was entered into between France and Luxembourg for the purchase in the latter country of 6,000 head of cattle, in return for which France undertook to furnish Luxembourg with 1,200 tons of refrigerated beef. The cattle thus obtained were distributed to the departments of the Aisne, the Marne, the Ardennes, the Meuse, and Meurthe-et-Moselle. Of the 6,128 head actually purchased, only one died in transit. The cost of the cattle, not counting transport, disinfection, and similar expenses, was 6,357,276 francs. The average cost per head to the French farmers, charged against their war indemnities, was 1,037.40 francs, to which was added from 50 to 100 francs, according to the prices paid in Luxembourg, to cover transport and other outlays.

In May and June 7,261 head of cattle were imported from Switzerland, at an average price to the French farmers of 2,235 francs per head. These were distributed to the same departments to which the Luxembourg cattle had been allotted, with the addition of the Vosges. The number was increased in July and August by 6,997 head purchased in Holland; these were allotted to the Aisne, the Ardennes, the Meuse, the Nord, the Oise, the Pas-de-Calais, and the Somme. The first shipment of American cattle, under a contract concluded on April 12 with private parties, arrived on August 15, and down to October 15 7,912 head had been received. The American cattle were purchased, under the oversight of a French commission, in Vermont, New York, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and were distributed in France to the Nord,

the Ardennes, and Meurthe-et-Moselle. Some 1,750 head of Algerian cattle were apportioned to the Nord and the Ardennes, and 9,804 head purchased in France outside of the invaded area were distributed among nine departments. All of these allotments were made on the basis of the number of cattle in the several departments before the war.

The replenishment of the stock of sheep was a more difficult problem, partly because the number of sheep had been diminishing from various causes for some years before the war, and partly because it was uncertain what breed would be likely to do best with such pasturage as was available. In the course of the summer of 1919, however, 22,796 sheep were imported from Algiers and allotted to the Aisne, the Ardennes, the Marne, the Meuse, the Nord, and the Pas-de-Calais.

Two other sources of supply for stock remained. Under pressure of the German advance in the spring of 1918 a considerable number of head of pure-blooded stock had been evacuated from the northern departments, special arrangements being made to care for them in other parts of France. Beginning in January, 1919, these animals were returned and distributed, 10,375 head of cattle and 2,676 head of sheep having been brought back by the end of the year. On the other hand, many of the cattle and other farm animals abandoned by the Germans or turned loose into the roads during the final retreat were actually in Belgium or Lorraine, where some of them had been appropriated to make good local losses. As identification was difficult and inquisitorial methods in Belgium were

not desirable, an agreement was made with Belgium for the cession to France of a certain number of the domestic animals of various kinds which, under the treaty of Versailles, were to be delivered to Belgium by Germany. Some 7,700 head of cattle and 1,500 horses, besides a few other animals, were eventually obtained in this way. A solution of the problem in Lorraine was easily found because all of the cattle in question belonged to the farmers of Meurthe-et-Moselle and had been driven off only a few days before the Germans withdrew. The mayors of Lorraine were appealed to, and 1,116 head of pure-blooded cattle were presently returned.[1]

Still another important work which was early undertaken was the collection and repair of the agricultural machinery abandoned by the refugee population or left by the Germans as their line from time to time receded. In June, 1918, the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, with the approval of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of War, began the organization in each invaded department of a repair service. Abandoned material of all kinds was assembled in parks, and so much of it as could be used was sent to central stations for repair. Material which could be identified was surrendered to its owners without further formality than the filing of a record with the prefect, the value of the material being in such cases deducted from the estimates of war damages. Material whose owners were unknown was ceded to sinistrés through the medium of agricultural societies or other

[1] The question of cattle and sheep is treated in a series of interesting articles in the *Bulletin des Régions Libérées*, October-November, 1919.

authorized agencies. In December, 1919, notwithstanding that great quantities of material had been disposed of or was still in process of restoration, there still remained fifty-nine parks in nine departments. In the Nord, where twelve such parks were to be found, the value of the assembled material was estimated at over 3,560,000 francs. Thirty repair shops operated by the ministry had already put in order more than 45,000 pieces of agricultural machinery, in addition to what had been treated in fifty-two private establishments working under contract.

Charges made later that the work of repair was not being carried to completion and that large quantities of material were being left to spoil, while in some instances apparently well founded, lose some of their weight when it is remembered that many sinistrés who were able to do so preferred to buy new equipment, with the result that the market for renovated machinery became somewhat overstocked, and that delays in the payment of indemnities kept the volume of purchases of agricultural appliances below the supply. In this connection it may be noted that about 2,100 tractors were bought in 1919 by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions.

Beyond the provision of implements and seed and the replenishment of the stock of cattle, it was necessary also to provide labor for harvesting, and buildings or other protection for the crops. Replying on June 29, 1920, to an interpellation on the subject in the Senate, the Minister of the Liberated Regions stated that the construction of hangars was being pushed with all possible speed, that all available military

hangars and other suitable buildings would be used, and that 1,100,000 square metres of canvas covers had been placed at the disposal of the farmers. Horses and wagons attached to other services were being freed for use in harvesting. An anticipated supply of labor from Poland had been delayed because of the military situation in that country, but the lack would be in part met by the temporary employment of soldiers, for whose release the Ministry of War had already given authorization.

A few days later, on July 2, two members of the Agricultural Academy of France reported the results of their inspection of the invaded area.[1] The larger number of the holders of farms had returned. In the Somme, of 190,000 hectares of cultivable land requiring restoration in 1919, at least 90,000 hectares had been planted and 65,000 hectares would be available by the end of the year. The restoration of the soil was less advanced in the Pas-de-Calais, where about 46,000 hectares out of a total of 138,000 were in crops and 50,000 hectares were being put in condition. In the Nord, on the other hand, between ninety and ninety-five per cent. of the arable land was under cultivation, although the orchards needed much attention and the replacement of stock was making slow progress. In the Aisne 192,400 hectares were producing cereals or forage crops. In the Ardennes, where a cultivated area of 195,000 hectares in 1912 had fallen to 34,000 hectares in 1919, 95,000 hectares were in crops in 1920, and 133,000 head of cattle, as compared with 365,000 head in 1912, were being pastured. The Meuse, one of the poorest departments in 1912 from an agricul-

[1] *Bulletin des Régions Libérées,* August 2, 1920.

tural point of view, showed 63,290 hectares under cultivation and 62,300 hectares cleared and leveled, out of a total of 166,000 hectares of arable land in 1912. In the Marne about 63,000 hectares had been restored.

This much the government and the farmers had achieved in less than two years after the armistice.

Financial aid continued to be extended to the farmers, either in the form of advances against indemnities or in premiums for the production of food crops. In August, 1920, a premium of 200 francs per hectare was offered for wheat in the harvest of that year; in July, 1921, 66,994,874 francs were appropriated for premiums on wheat and other grains. The maximum of advances on account of so-called revolving funds, to be repaid later from installments of indemnities, had been limited to 2,000 francs per hectare, or 2,500 francs per hectare in the case of land cultivated for industrial purposes (for example, sugar beets). In March, 1921, the latter maximum was increased for certain difficult parts of the devastated zone to 3,000 francs per hectare. On the other hand, agricultural sinistrés were subject to an annual tax of six per cent. on profits of over 1,500 francs, profits between 1,500 and 4,000 francs, however, being taxed on one-half of their amount. A law of June 25, 1920, provided that the coefficients (1, 2, or 3) which had been established for determining the profits from different kinds of land should be reduced by 75 per cent. in 1920, 50 per cent. in 1922, and 25 per cent. in 1923, the reduction applying in each case to the taxes of the preceding year.

The application of the law of war damages to farm

property presented many difficult problems in regard to which the Ministry of the Liberated Regions not seldom found itself in sharp opposition to the sinistrés. In comparison with the evaluation of losses occasioned to buildings, in which the evidence of injury was both direct and apparent, the evaluation of injuries to the soil and its products was a complicated task. Numerous and diverse elements had to be considered: injuries to the soil by trenches, shell fire, gas, or lack of use; injuries to orchards, vineyards, woodland, pasturage, or water supply; losses of cattle or other animals, of crops in the ground, or of crops already harvested. Account had to be taken not only of the value of the different parts of the property in 1914, but also of the cost of replacement, the latter involving such scientific questions as the chemical constitution of the soil after war had passed over it, or the character and percentage of deterioration due to weeds or other consequences of non-cultivation. Allowance had also to be made for crops raised during the war, for any work of recuperation done before damages were finally appraised, for cattle or implements recovered from Germany or from other departments or provided by the government, and for any proposed changes in the reëmployment of indemnities as compared with the use of the property before the war.

It was in general the policy of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, so far as the work of its technical services was concerned, to evaluate each element of damage separately, thus making the total indemnity the sum of its several parts. On the other hand, since the law contemplated an indemnity for those damages

only which were direct and the result of war, the cost of any restoration that could not be classed under those two heads was regarded as an expense devolving solely upon the proprietor. The official interpretation of the law at this point sometimes made discriminations which for a layman are hard to understand. For example, land which had gone out of cultivation because the farmer had been mobilized, or because farm animals, equipment, or even the personal service of the farmer had been requisitioned by the Germans, was not regarded as having suffered any direct injury as a consequence of war. All that the farmer could claim in such cases was indemnity for the property carried off and not recovered, and for buildings, if any, that had been injured or destroyed. The cantonal commissions, while not bound by the rulings of the ministry, were as a rule inclined to take the ministerial point of view wherever by so doing the claims of sinistrés could be reduced.

In a lengthy circular to the prefects issued on July 22, 1921, the position of the ministry was elaborately expounded, with the addition of a series of tables indicating the bases upon which the costs of soil restoration ought to be calculated. The figures, based upon estimated valuations in 1914, varied according to the quality of the land (heavy, average, or light), the number of years during which it had remained uncultivated, the degree of intensive cultivation (excellent, average, or mediocre), and the use of the land for industrial or general agricultural purposes. The rulings embodied in the circular were made binding upon the prefects as administrative agents of the ministry, and

those officials were not only directed to make no concessions and to appeal from any decisions of a contrary tenor rendered by the cantonal commissions or the tribunals of war damages, but they were also requested to bring the circular to the attention of the bodies just named.

The issuance of this circular, and the action of some of the prefects under the rulings which it embodied, gave rise to an acute controversy between the sinistrés and the ministry. As the controversy is still going on, judgment upon the merits of the case may properly be given only with reserve. It may be pointed out, however, that in so far as sinistrés are by law denied indemnity for losses which cannot be classed as both direct and the result of war, the fundamental trouble would appear to be with the law rather than with ministerial interpretations of it, and relief can be obtained only from the Parliament. At the same time, it does not appear that any ministry has ever been given authority to make rulings which should be binding upon the commissions or tribunals to which is intrusted the duty of evaluating war damages. The instructions to the prefects to contest every decision in which the rulings of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions were not observed would seem, accordingly, to be an extension of administrative authority not easy to justify, even if such instructions were not themselves questionable on the ground that they tend to retard a settlement which ought by all possible means to be hastened.

The ultimate test of any reconstruction program is, of course, the work of restoration actually accom-

plished rather than the regulations framed, the projects undertaken, or the controversies raised and settled. Judged by this standard, the record of agricultural reconstruction in France merits high praise. Figures showing the extent to which the land has been cleared of barbed wire and other military encumbrances and trenches filled have been given in an earlier chapter. Of 1,851,039 hectares of cultivable land in the invaded departments requiring restoration, 1,754,693 hectares had been cleared and leveled down to May 1, 1921, and 1,384,028 hectares were being worked. For the harvest of 1920, 728,232 hectares of cereal crops had been planted. Tractors or other forms of mechanical power were used on 299,227 hectares for plowing, on 82,627 hectares for miscellaneous work, on 27,833 hectares for harrowing, and on 36,396 hectares for harvesting; while the equivalent of 2,441 working days had been devoted to threshing grain. The number of cattle carried off or turned loose by the Germans was estimated at 523,000, the number of sheep and goats at 469,000, and the number of horses and mules at 367,000. Of this total loss of 1,359,000 head, 120,263 head of cattle, 121,164 sheep and goats, and 96,303 horses and mules had been recovered from Germany or Belgium or had been obtained through purchase or gift. The so-called revolving fund available for agricultural sinistrés, advanced by the state on account of damages which the cantonal commissions had evaluated, aggregated on May 1, 1921, 1,369,538,299 francs.

To these specific figures are to be added the share of the farmers in houses and farm buildings permanently constructed and temporary buildings supplied, great

quantities of seed furnished, wells cleaned or rebuilt, labor supplied through government effort, 2,511,937 francs advanced for the purchase of food, and special priorities for transport of agricultural supplies by rail.

The forests of the war zone, the restoration of which is in charge of a special bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture, cover an area of about 650,000 hectares. To these are to be added considerable areas which, while outside of the war zone, are within the official limits of the liberated regions. The losses were very heavy. Many of the forests were entirely destroyed by shell fire, the trees that were left standing having no value except for fuel; others were leveled to supply wood for trenches, defensive works, huts, or other military uses; still others were seriously injured by careless or wasteful cutting practiced both by the Germans and by the French. A survey of the forests made in 1919 showed about 100,000 hectares in which the soil required to be reconstituted, 100,000 hectares in need of replanting or reseeding, and 150,000 hectares which had suffered from careless cutting. None of these 350,000 hectares, it was estimated, would be in condition to produce timber in less than sixty years. The loss in production was estimated at about four per cent. of the total French production before the war. The actual effect of the losses upon the available timber supply was greater than the percentage figure appears to show because of the extraordinary demand after the war for timber for reconstruction, for the reconstitution of railways, highways, and canals, for the restoration of the mines, and for the replacement of commercial stocks which had been destroyed.

The reconstruction work of the forestry service, carried on through special services organized in each department, includes the filling of trenches and other excavations, the removal of barbed wire and débris, the replanting of trees, the establishment of nurseries along the line of the front, and experiments with new species. A considerable number of young trees grown in the Aisne, the fruit of 25,000,000 seeds presented to the government in 1920 by the American Forestry Association, will be ready for transplanting in 1923. The Chemin des Dames and the forest of St. Mihiel are among the districts to which these American trees will be sent.

The evaluation of forest damages presented both novel and delicate problems. In general, the destruction of trees might be compared to the destruction of buildings, but with the important difference that the effects of injuries suffered could not always be readily perceived, and that the restoration of forests to their pre-war condition was a work of many years. Losses due to artillery fire or other military operations were particularly serious because they involved the destruction or injury of young trees, the destruction or diminution of the lumber cut for years to come, and the contamination of healthy trees by wounded trees left standing. The range of gunfire was wide, and trees many kilometres distant from the actual front were often injured. The award of damages had to take account of the value of standing timber, the value which growing trees would have had as lumber had they reached maturity, the value of cut lumber in the forests, of timber and firewood requisitioned, and of

buildings, roads, drains, etc., destroyed within the forest limits. About one-half of the devastated forest area was owned by private parties, and since a forest represents both capital and revenue, the owners were entitled to damages not only for trees and lumber destroyed, but also for the loss of revenue during the period required for restoration. A fourth of the forests were the property of departments or communes, which derived a revenue from the sale of timber and firewood, and departments and communes were obviously entitled to standing as sinistrés.

A circular of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, November 8, 1920, directed that the dossiers of damages to departmental or communal forests, or to those belonging to hospitals, asylums, or other public institutions, should not be prepared by the representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture attached to the cantonal commissions as technical advisers, but by representatives of the forestry service of the latter ministry. Private owners, on the other hand, were forbidden to call upon the forestry service for assistance, but were left to rely upon unofficial experts. The purpose of the circular was not, of course, to embarrass the private owner, but to secure for the departments and communes the whole time of the government experts. Obviously, however, the discrimination was likely to increase rather than diminish controversies before the cantonal commissions, and to delay still further the settlement with individual sinistrés. Complaints have been numerous that the slowness of the cantonal commissions in all cases in which expert appraisal of damages was involved bore hard upon the owners of

forest land, many of whom were for this reason prevented from developing their properties or from continuing the employment of labor after the harvesting season had closed. As late as September, 1921, however, the Minister of the Liberated Regions could give no better assurance than that the prefects would be asked to urge prompt action in all damage claims involving expert appraisal.[1]

[1] Letter of the Minister to the Marquis de Lubersac, senator from the Aisne, in the *Journal des Régions Dévastées,* September 18, 1921.

CHAPTER X

THE PROBLEM OF FINANCE

It was clear from the outset that the problem of reconstruction, under whatever form it might be presented, resolved itself in the final analysis into a problem of finance. Ultimately, it was hoped, the cost of restoring the liberated regions would be recovered from Germany, but until the German indemnities were actually paid the success of the reconstruction program depended upon the ability of the French government to find the money necessary to put industry, agriculture, and social life in general upon their feet. In practice three different lines of procedure were followed. In the first place, the government assumed as a general charge, to be borne by the state rather than by the invaded departments, the entire cost of clearing the ruins and freeing the land from the traces of war, together with the expenses of administering the reconstruction service. Secondly, advances of money, materials, or labor were made to the sinistrés, such advances being on the one hand charged against the complete indemnities eventually to be awarded, and on the other included in the total of reparations which Germany was expected to pay. The third part of the program, adopted much later than the other two parts, was that which authorized communes and other sinistrés to borrow in open market on their own account.

Some of the financial measures adopted by the government have already been referred to in the chapters dealing with the law of war damages and the reconstruction of industry and agriculture. The extension of financial aid to particular classes of sinistrés was, however, only a special phase of a general policy to which the government, notwithstanding some hesitation and irregularity, on the whole adhered. It is the leading features of that policy that have now to be outlined.

The beginning of financial aid to the invaded regions dates from December 26, 1914, when a credit of 300,000,000 francs was opened with the Ministry of the Interior. This fund, created at a time when the war had only just begun and when its ultimate ravages were but dimly apprehended, remained for many months the only source from which the general needs of reconstruction could be supplied. Not until the evaluation of war damages was well under way and the reconstruction of industry had begun to take form were larger additional credits provided. The first of these larger credits was opened on February 11, 1919, for the purpose of retiring the loans contracted during the war by cities, communes, regional unions of communes, chambers of commerce, and savings banks. The amount made available for this purpose was 1,500,000,000 francs, a part of the local issues being exchanged for national currency and the remainder for short time national defense bonds.

At the moment of the adoption of the war damages law of April 17, 1919, no less than nine different classes of advances or revolving funds had already been estab-

lished by law or by ministerial decree. The provisions relating to these several classes are briefly as follows:

1. *Restoration of houses to habitable condition.* Advances of money or materials for urgent use, without limit as to amount, were authorized, payment to be made either through the performance of the necessary work by the state, or by the delivery of an order for materials, or by the payment of money. Advances of this kind were available for industrial sinistrés as well as for others.

2. *Reconstruction of buildings.* Advances were authorized for the restoration of either industrial or agricultural buildings, even if entirely destroyed, where without such restoration the industry or occupation could not be resumed. These advances were not to exceed, in connection with other advances, 60 per cent. of the approximate total damages. Twenty per cent. might be paid in advance to enable the sinistré to begin work.

3. *Personal property of families.* The limit of advances was fixed at 1,000 francs for the head of a family and 200 francs for each other member. These advances were usually paid in money, but might be paid in kind. They could be demanded whether the sinistré returned to the commune or not.

4. *Professional equipment.* Advances to an aggregate of 10,000 francs, but not in excess of 25 per cent. of the estimated damages, were allowed for instruments, pharmaceutical supplies, etc. Payment might be made in either money or kind.

5. *Local mechanics.* The prefects were authorized to grant advances, in money or kind, for tools or other necessary equipment.

6. *Revolving funds.* The purpose of these funds, the amounts of which were reimbursable out of indemnities, was to place at the disposal of the sinistré, without interest, sufficient resources to enable him to begin the work of reconstruction at once. There were three classes of beneficiaries:

(*a*) *Farmers.* Advances were allowed to a maximum of 2,000 francs per hectare for land restored to cultivation, 2,500 francs per hectare if blooded stock had to be renewed

and 3,000 francs per hectare for vineyards whose cultivation was specially laborious.

(*b*) *Small merchants and manufacturers and local mechanics.* Advances were not in general to exceed 3,000 francs.

(*c*) *Large manufacturers.* The basis of advances was the number of workers employed and continuous operation for three months. The allowance for each workman was 1,200 francs, of which 1,000 francs was for wages. The total of all advances was not to exceed 75 per cent. of the approximate damages.

7. *Municipalities.* Unlimited advances, approved by a special commission, were allowed for the replacement of office fixtures, vehicles, appliances for fire protection, and other necessary movable equipment of local government.

8. *Dossiers of damages.* One per cent. of the approximate amount involved was allowed for the expenses of preparing dossiers of damages, and one per cent. for preparing the proposals for rebuilding or restoration. Where the sinistré was a coöperative reconstruction society these percentages were doubled for the purpose of creating a revolving fund.

9. *Enemy requisitions.* The advances were not to exceed 75 per cent. of the amount involved as shown by receipts or other papers.

In addition to these various advances, sinistrés whose damages had been evaluated by cantonal commissions prior to the adoption of the war damages law of April 17, 1919, were entitled to advances of not exceeding 75 per cent. on those evaluations, or not exceeding 90 per cent. if the sinistré was a coöperative reconstruction society.[1]

The war damages law of 1919 still further extended the system by authorizing advances of 25 per cent. of the amount of the indemnity in the case of sinistrés who proposed to reëmploy their indemnities and whose

[1] *Bulletin des Régions Libérées,* July 21, 1919.

claims had been passed by the cantonal commissions, the advance to be not less than 3,000 francs nor more than 100,000 francs. The Minister of the Liberated Regions and the Minister of Finance acting jointly were further empowered to grant other advances for urgent needs on such terms as they might think proper.

The amounts placed to the credit of the prefects in the invaded departments for the payment of advances under these various heads aggregated, in the first six months of 1919, 753,500,000 francs. This figure does not include the value of advances in kind made during the same period by the offices of industrial and agricultural reconstruction.

Appropriations and increases of appropriations followed one another with amazing rapidity. On July 26, 1919, the maximum of credits for industrial reconstruction, which three days before had been fixed at 20,000,000 francs, was raised to 80,000,000 francs, one-half being allotted to the Lille sector, with the further proviso that if the amounts allotted to each of the other sectors proved insufficient they would, on the application of the prefects, be increased to 20,000,000 francs. On July 15, 50,000,000 francs were advanced to the Central Purchasing Agency (Comptoir Central d'Achats); on August 25 this was increased to 100,000,000 francs. The payment in money of advances on account of war damages presently threatened to involve a dangerous inflation of the currency, and in November the payment of three-fourths of the amount of the large advances in short-time national defense bonds was prescribed.

With a view to facilitating the payment of indemnities and advances an agreement was made on July 7, 1919, by the Minister of Finance with a financial organization known as the Crédit National, under which that organization became the financial agent of the state. The Crédit National undertook to pay all indemnities awarded under the law of war damages, together with all advances under the same law running for not more than twenty-five years, and in addition to grant loans in aid of industry and commerce to a total of not more than 500,000,000 francs. The funds for the purpose were to be provided by bond issues authorized by the state, repayable by the state with interest in annual installments. The agreement, approved by law on October 10, gave to the state the right of supervising the operations of the Crédit National, and made the securities of the corporation a legal investment for communes, charitable organizations, and societies of a public character.

In May, 1920, the Crédit National was authorized to issue securities to the amount of 4,000,000,000 francs, in 8,000,000 shares of 500 francs each, bearing interest at five per cent. and repayable in not more than sixty-five years. Until 1940 the holders of the shares were to benefit by annual drawings, embodying the lottery feature familiar in French public issues, and aggregating 20,000,000 francs. Beginning in 1940 the outstanding shares might be repaid at par. A further issue of 3,000,000,000 francs, bearing interest at six per cent. and repayable at the rate of 500,000,000 francs annually beginning with 1931, was authorized in

September, 1921, and a fourth issue was approved in January, 1922.

Down to October 31, 1921, the Crédit National had disbursed to sinistrés, in indemnities and advances, 7,607,853,123 francs. Its open accounts numbered 700,696. It had loaned to industrial or commercial undertakings 248,474,500 francs. Its shares, issued at a figure slightly less than their par value of 500 francs, were quoted at the end of November at about 465 francs per share. The relatively small volume of loans to industrial and commercial enterprises is explained by the fact that the Crédit National agreed not to make such loans until the payment of indemnities and advances had been organized. Accordingly, it did not begin to develop this branch of its business until the second half of 1920, and its industrial and commercial loans, all of which require the approval of the Minister of Finance, amounted at the end of that year to only 31,045,000 francs. So far as its relations with the state are concerned, the Crédit National seems to have performed its duties with energy and efficiency, in full recognition of its obligations as the custodian and administrator of public funds.

We come now to the budget. M. André Tardieu has pointed out that there is not, in the proper sense of the term, a budget for the liberated regions. "Each month the minister has a contest with his colleague of the finance department. Each month the prefects are informed at the last moment of the credits which they will dispense in the month following."[1] The point is well taken, and indicates one of the weaknesses of the financial policy to which reference will be made later.

[1] *L'Illustration,* June 4, 1921.

Nevertheless, both the totals and the items of the expenditures made by the government from year to year for reconstruction are ascertainable, and it is only by studying them that the magnitude of the effort which France has made and is still making can be understood.

The total expenditures on all accounts for reconstruction purposes, railway reconstruction excepted,[1] amounted at the end of 1920 to 20,964,638,481 francs. About nine-tenths of this amount, or 17,862,525,006 francs, was spent in the years 1919 and 1920. Of the total, 448,698,793 francs represented the cost of central and local administration in the ten invaded departments, 4,149,535,860 francs the cost of labor and materials purchased, 13,924,251,920 francs the amounts paid in indemnities and advances to sinistrés, 1,037,351,906 francs the cost of relief of various kinds granted to sinistrés, 900,000,000 francs the expenses of the office of industrial reconstitution, 400,000,000 francs the expenses of the office of agricultural reconstitution, and 104,800,000 francs the expenditures for motoculture. All of these funds were raised by domestic loans, 3,200,000,000 francs being provided by the Crédit National.[2]

Of the 13,924,251,920 francs paid to sinistrés in advances and indemnities, 9,655,158,874 francs represented advances of money on account of indemnities, 82,373,497 francs indemnities for which certificates had been issued, 30,169,903 francs interest, 4,143,339,417 francs the reimbursement of advances in kind to sin-

[1] The expenses of railway reconstruction are not included in the budgets, but are carried in a special account under a law of December 30, 1917.

[2] These figures and those which follow are taken from the report of M. d'Aubigny, of the budget commission, submitted to the Chamber of Deputies on February 21, 1921.

istrés by the offices of industrial and agricultural reconstruction and on motoculture account, and 13,210,227 francs advances for the reparation of damages caused by explosions or other accidents.

How do these expenditures compare with the volume of war losses to be repaired? Provisional estimates of war damages in all the departments, including those outside the limits of the so-called liberated regions, fixed the total at 33,488,560,000 francs. The provisional aggregate of damages as set forth in the declarations of sinistrés amounted, on December 31, 1920, to 34,665,765,000 francs, or 1,177,205,000 francs more than the provisional estimates. These figures were based upon estimated values in 1914. To them are to be added the damages sustained by state property and the railways, the amount of these two items being estimated at 1,000,000,000 francs. The claims entered by sinistrés are in many cases excessive, and the total indemnities awarded by the cantonal commissions and tribunals of war damages will perhaps not exceed 30,000,000,000 francs.

Assuming that the latter figure will be found to be correct, the total amount of damages of all kinds, including the cost of replacement at present prices, can be calculated with approximate accuracy. Down to the end of 1920 the cost of replacement of injured or destroyed property had been on the average five times the estimated value of the property in 1914. The approximately 15,000,000,000 francs already paid to sinistrés in indemnities, advances, and relief may, accordingly, be taken to represent a value of one-fifth of that amount, or 3,000,000,000 francs, on the basis of 1914. Deducting this amount, plus 1,000,000,000 francs rep-

resenting the value at the same date of the damaged property of the railways and the state, leaves 26,000,000,000 francs still due to the sinistrés.

The cost of reimbursing this amount in values of 1921 or later depends, of course, upon the coefficient that is employed. With the coefficient 4 (a fair average in 1921) the cost would be 104,000,000,000 francs; with the coefficient 3, 78,000,000,000 francs; with the coefficient 2.5 (the lowest figure to which the cost of replacement seems likely to fall in the near future), 65,000,000,000 francs. Assuming that the payment of indemnities to sinistrés will be spread over at least ten years, and that changes in prices and improved organization will cause the coefficient to fall, the adoption of a coefficient midway between 4 and 2.5, say 3.25,[1] as representing the average cost of replacement from 1921 onward, brings the total of damages still to be reimbursed to 75,500,000,000 francs. Adding the cost of restoring state and railway property, for most of which a coefficient of from 4 to 5 must be employed, gives a grand total of about 80,000,000,000 francs as the cost of reconstruction after January 1, 1921.

The budget commission of 1921 expressed the opinion that this figure ought to be the maximum to be anticipated. It was pointed out, however, that no considerable reduction in the cost of replacement was to be looked for without a reduction in wages, and that

[1] In the spring of 1921 the Minister of the Liberated Regions announced that the coefficient of 3.25 ought not to be exceeded in the reconstruction of buildings. On September 23, at Roye, he found 3.85 a reasonable coefficient for workingmen's houses in the Somme (Paris *Matin,* September 24, 1921). At the end of November, during a visit to the Ardennes, he insisted upon the application of the coefficient 3.5 "or at least the smallest possible increase over the valuation of 1914" (Paris *Temps,* November 23, 1921).

wages could not be expected to fall until the cost of living in the invaded departments had declined. Such decline could come only when the invaded departments became once more, what they had been before the war, producers and exporters of food instead of importers; and a return to that condition could not be achieved until housing for farmers and farm laborers and shelter for cattle had been restored and village life had been resumed.

An analysis of the figures from this point of view gives the case for reconstruction a different aspect. While the advances to mines had reached 84.64 per cent. of the estimated damages on the basis of values in 1914, and those to other industries 112.54 per cent., damages not industrial had been reimbursed only to the extent of 21.75 per cent., and this notwithstanding the fact that non-industrial damages represented 78 per cent. of the total. The reparation of damages to real property of an industrial character had absorbed 25 per cent. of the money advances, while the reparation of similar damages to property not industrial had absorbed 27 per cent. The total of advances, however, in money and materials on account of damages to real property was, in 1920, about 9,000,000,000 francs, and of this only 1,400,000,000 francs had gone to restore non-industrial losses.

It is interesting to compare the estimates of the budget commission with the figures upon which the German indemnities and reparations are based. If the mean coefficient of 3.25 proposed by the budget commission be employed, the total cost of reconstruction, counting the 15,000,000,000 francs already paid and the 80,000,000,000 francs remaining to be provided, would

be 95,000,000,000 francs. With the highest coefficient proposed, namely 4, the total would be increased to 123,000,000,000 francs. Figures prepared by the various ministers late in 1920 for submission to the Reparations Commission aggregated 232,482,000,000 francs for indemnities and reparations of all kinds, of which amount 140,000,000,000 francs was claimed for the liberated regions. The claims actually presented to the Reparations Commission in February, 1921, amounted to 214,416,596,120 francs, equal in value to 136,000,000,000 gold marks, not counting 4,125,000,000 francs demanded in the form of interest. The Reparations Commission in April allotted to France 52 per cent. of 132,000,000,000 gold marks, or 68,400,000,000 marks. If it may be assumed that the reduction of about 7.75 per cent. in the claims presented in February, as compared with the previous estimates, applied to the estimates for the liberated regions in the same proportion as to the whole, the estimated cost of restoring the liberated regions was 131,500,000,000 francs. The Reparations Commission further reduced the total claims by about three per cent. The same proportionate reduction applied to the liberated regions gives a final estimate of 127,555,000,000 francs, or 4,555,000,000 francs more than the maximum estimate of the budget commission.

The allocation to France of 52 per cent. of the total reparations obviously put an end to the hope of recovering from Germany the whole cost of reconstruction. With the adoption of that decision, reconstruction, in the words of M. André Tardieu, ceased to be an international problem and became a domestic one. The most that could be expected from Germany for all pur-

poses was 52 per cent. of about 205,839,000,000 francs, or approximately 107,088,000,000 francs. The ministerial estimate for the liberated regions was approximately 60 per cent. of the total. On this basis the proportion of the German indemnities available for the liberated regions would amount to about 64,252,000,000 francs, or more than 30,000,000,000 francs less than the lowest estimate of the budget commission. This deficit must be met by taxes paid by the French people themselves.

The credits voted for 1921 were prodigious. For the months of January and February 6,000,000,000 francs was made available for the payment of indemnities and advances to sinistrés, 4,750,000,000 francs for industrial reconstruction, and 2,443,007,605 francs for the miscellaneous expenses of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions. This latter item was increased by 856,473,005 francs for March, 807,642,950 francs for April, and 766,144,965 francs for May. For the month of April a further credit of 150,000,000 francs was voted for industrial reconstruction. The budget law of May 31, devoted to special expenses recoverable under the terms of the treaty of Versailles, carried 9,079,676,114 francs for the general account of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions and an additional credit of 1,750,000,000 francs for industrial reconstruction. The total credits voted to May 31 aggregated 26,602,944,639 francs, to which is further to be added a supplementary credit of 930,000,000 francs voted in December on account of expenses for the current year. Adding the amounts expended from 1915 to 1920 inclusive gives a grand total of 48,497,583,120 francs. These figures do not include appropriations for railways,

mines, and historical monuments, of which the proportion applicable to the liberated regions cannot be ascertained with certainty from the budget statements, or numerous other items credited to different ministries but actually applied to reconstruction in the invaded departments. The aggregate of these indeterminate credits would swell the total by several milliards.[1]

Until July, 1920, sinistrés were not permitted to borrow on the security of their future indemnities. The budget law of July 31 removed this restriction in the case of sinistrés whose damages equaled or exceeded one million francs,[2] at the same time allowing sinistrés, including cities, communes, and corporations, whose claims were less than that amount to combine for the purpose of taking advantage of the law. Such sinistrés or groups of sinistrés were permitted by the law to enter into agreements with the government, through the Minister of Finance, under which the

[1] The budget for 1922, voted by the Chambers on December 31, carried total credits of 204,509,000 francs for reconstruction work of various kinds, not including large allowances to functionaries in the liberated regions on account of the high cost of living, and 186,323,000 francs for reconstruction in Alsace-Lorraine. The special budget of expenditures recoverable from Germany, which at the time of writing was still before the Chambers, contemplated an expenditure of 7,000,000,000 francs, in addition to 8,000,000,000 francs to be derived from loans issued by the Crédit National and 4,000,000,000 francs from loans issued by groups of sinistrés. The total credits for the year, accordingly, would amount to 15,000,000,000 francs, or 19,000,000,000 francs if the loans of sinistrés reached the figure of 4,000,000,000 francs fixed as a limit by the law of July 31. 1920. The reporter of the budget, M. de Lasteyrie, later Minister of Finance in the Poincaré Cabinet, estimated that the amounts advanced to January 1, 1922, on account of recoverable expenditures would reach a total of 80,000,000,000 francs, of which 45,000,000,000 francs represented damages to property, 29,000,000,000 francs damages to persons, and 6,000,000,000 francs interest. These figures, however, it should be pointed out, are for the whole of France and not exclusively for the liberated regions.

[2] A proposed law submitted by the Minister of the Liberated Regions in November, 1921, reduced this limit to 200,000 francs and further enlarged the privilege of borrowing.

indemnities due were to be paid in annual installments extending over from fifteen to thirty years, with interest at six per cent. per annum. With the bond and its attached coupons which embodied this agreement as collateral, the sinistré was at liberty to borrow through an approved bank, the bank acting as a trustee and paying the proceeds of the loan on statements from government agents that the work undertaken had been done. The first group of sinistrés to take advantage of this provision was the association of collieries of the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais, whose issue of six per cent. bonds to the amount of 1,200,000,000 francs has already been referred to. In this instance the loan enjoyed the added security of a capital of 50,000,000 francs furnished by the companies. The loan was promptly taken by the public, and in fact was oversubscribed.

On April 9, 1921, the city of Albert issued a loan of 25,000,000 francs which was quickly absorbed. The success of this loan, together with the announcement of two others to be offered by Reims and Verdun, precipitated a lively controversy between the Minister of Finance and the Minister of the Liberated Regions. The Minister of the Liberated Regions, M. Louis Loucheur, to whose energetic administration the rapid progress of industrial reconstruction was largely due, championed the municipal loans on the ground that they would not only aid the financing of reconstruction but would also stimulate local interest. The Minister of Finance, M. Paul Doumer, opposed them on the ground that such loans tended to limit the market for national loans. There were rumors that the Reims and Verdun loans had been held up and that a Cabinet

crisis was threatened. The policy of M. Loucheur prevailed, however, and in June the two loans, that of Reims for 120,000,000 francs and that of Verdun for 60,000,000 francs, were authorized. A fourth loan of 15,000,000 francs for the commune of La Bassée in the Nord department was authorized in September. In December the commune of Soissons was authorized to borrow $6,000,000 in Canada. A loan of 150,000,000 francs by the Nord department, also authorized in December, was promptly subscribed. A large loan, planned by an association of the mayors of the invaded departments for the benefit of all the devastated communes, was under consideration at the time of writing.

How long the burden imposed by huge credits for reconstruction can be borne, even with the aid of the German indemnities, is a question primarily for the financiers. The demand for inflation of the currency is at the moment strong in France, and so long as the government continues its present scale of military and civil expenditures, maintains a swollen list of functionaries, and meets recurring deficits by further borrowing instead of by levying equitably upon the immense wealth which France actually possesses, that demand with all its dangerous implications is likely to increase. On the other hand it may be pointed out that the restoration of the mines, the factories, and the farms of the invaded departments adds each year to the store of material values available for the payment of national debts, and that the rich resources of Alsace and Lorraine are now a part of the wealth of France. It cannot be denied that the financial outlook is serious, but it does not as yet spell catastrophe.

CHAPTER XI

THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS CRITICS

It will be convenient to examine at this point some of the more important criticisms which have been voiced in France and elsewhere regarding the reconstruction policy of the government. Certain of these criticisms have already been briefly alluded to, but so many of the objections which have been urged to the government policy, either as a whole or in the details of its practical application, ultimately involve the question of money that they could not well be considered at length until the financial operations had themselves been outlined. Now that the administrative and financial sides of the case have both been presented, the criticisms to which the reconstruction program has been subjected may properly be weighed. I leave out of account, as unworthy of serious attention, the more or less superficial strictures of casual travelers, most of whom have never seen the invaded departments as a whole and are unacquainted with what has been planned or done, and also those criticisms of the French press or of French political circles whose main purpose is to discredit or embarrass the government. It hardly need be added that the indiscriminate praise which the work of reconstruction has occasionally received is equally beside the mark.

I cannot do better than to begin by summarizing

some of the statements with which M. d'Aubigny, the reporter of the budget commission of the Chamber of Deputies in 1921, prefaces his examination of the proposed budget for that year.

If, writes M. d'Aubigny, one interrogates the mayors or the sinistrés in the villages of the devastated area, the same complaint is everywhere repeated. For two years, those questioned will tell you, we have worked courageously and willingly to restore our villages and our land, but how do we stand? Most of the promises made to us have not been kept, and we are losing hope. Our temporary houses, built of green lumber, let in the wind and the rain, they are cold in winter and hot in summer, and they are too small for families with many children. The leaky roofs of our houses and granges are still covered with paper, and tiles are unobtainable. Why? Because our claims to damages have not been settled and permanent rebuilding cannot proceed. The first advance for the reconstruction of stables and granges came promptly enough, but for the others, thanks to formalities, we have to wait weeks or months. We are far from materials and supplies, labor is scarce, we cannot lodge workmen who otherwise might be induced to come, we cannot guarantee regular payments to contractors. The food supplies which reach us at second or third hand are excessively dear, and we lack food for our cattle. The statistics of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions show enormous areas returned to cultivation, but the size of the crops is a different story. And why is living so dear? Chiefly because as yet we have nothing to sell.

Ask the president of a rural coöperative society for

reconstruction, continues M. d'Aubigny, and he will tell you that after having organized the society on a model plan prepared by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, everything had presently to be made over to conform to new laws and decrees. We have established a plan of work for 1921, but we have as yet received no advances and no share in revolving funds, and in consequence cannot make contracts. The cantonal commissions refuse to consider dossiers of damages except in the order in which the papers are filed; they will not approve the sums which we pay to contractors even when those sums correspond to the coefficients established by the technical committees of the ministry. Property lines have not been run, we are not allowed to build permanently without a plan, and our plans are not yet approved. The law may be all right for the cities, but it is useless for the villages.

The president of a coöperative society in a large city is no more encouraging. Almost everything here, he will tell you, has been injured. We have done what we could with the credits allowed, but payments have been so small and so slow as to defeat our efforts. Many of our members who were able to do so have had to pay contractors out of their private means, otherwise the work would have stopped. In spite of all that we can do the commissions persist in passing upon our personal property losses, to the neglect of the real property which is more important. As for the cost of labor, it is prohibitive.

Numerous contractors were to be found who, after having incurred large expense in erecting workshops, were unable, through lack of government credits, to

obtain more than a few workmen. The government depots of material contained roofing tiles brought by sea from Marseille to Dunkerque or Calais and transported thence by rail and camion, other tiles brought from Holland, and timber from Sweden and Finland, notwithstanding that all of these materials might easily have been procured at much less expense from Germany. Sections of portable houses were left to deteriorate in the open air, while near-by hangars were stacked with bags of cement which, because of previous long exposure, was now useless. Great numbers of workers' houses, shops, and other buildings were going to ruin because Parliament had insisted that state work should be suspended. Every sinistré complained of the army of functionaries, the lack of uniformity or coördination, and the overwhelming mass of dossiers.

Thus M. d'Aubigny. For the remedy of these evils, the picture of which appears not to have been regarded as overdrawn, the budget commission proposed the following reforms for 1921:

1. The suppression of state work, the simplification of administrative routine, the diminution of the number of papers required to be prepared, the unification of administrative methods in the different departments and of the different series of prices and coefficients, and the encouragement of individual initiative.
2. The suppression of provisional construction and the system of advances for labor, the delivery of definitive certificates of damages for real property, the simplification of the process by which advances of indemnity to be reemployed were made, and payments at fixed dates.
3. The grouping of sinistrés in coöperative reconstruction societies, the determination by the state and the coöpera-

tives of an order of urgency or priority, the examination of claims by the cantonal commissions in accordance with this order of urgency, the establishment of an annual program of work with credits corresponding to the program. and the cession to the coöperatives of all construction material, whether already installed or not, acquired by the state.

4. The modification of existing laws in regard to the running of property and street lines so as to insure prompt treatment of those questions, and the determination of the proportion of cost to be borne by the state.

5. The modification of certain regulations regarding public health.

6. A general organization of labor in the liberated regions, arrangements for foreign labor and for the delivery of material in kind by Germany, and the regulation of prices.

The carrying out of this comprehensive program, the realization of which would have met most of the criticisms to which the budget commission referred, was by no means equally easy at all points. Orders had already been issued by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions on February 5, 1921, to bring all direct state work to a close at the end of the year. The question of provisional houses was more difficult. The prefects insisted that appropriations for such houses should continue to be made for 1921. The commission, while admitting the impossibility of undoing what had been done, condemned the housing policy strongly as wasteful and ill-advised, and inquired sharply why different plans which had been worked out in 1918 and 1919 by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions had not been put into operation. It was further pointed out that even if temporary wooden houses were in some cases necessary, it would have been better policy to obtain them from Germany, since

facilities for their manufacture did not exist in France in 1914 and the facilities that now existed were a creation of the war and primarily for military purposes.

The demand by the sinistrés for the suppression of advances and the prompt delivery of certificates of damages raised one of the most serious questions with which a reform of reconstruction methods had to deal. The actual situation is best described in M. d'Aubigny's own words.[1]

"A sinistré, desiring to reconstruct his farm buildings, has had his statement of damages prepared by an architect and has asked for the advance of 60 per cent. to which he is entitled by law. Assuring that the actual loss sustained has been evaluated at 30,000 francs, and that the coefficient adopted by the technical committee of the department for the supplementary indemnity is 6, the claim presented will be $30{,}000 \times 6 = 180{,}000$ francs.

"In certain departments the administration has been very generous in granting advances, and it is possible that the sinistré may have received 108,000 francs, exactly 60 per cent. of his claim. Thereupon he has gone to work in good faith, and has devoted the whole amount of his advance to the reconstruction of his farm buildings other than his house. He has then taken his accounts to the cantonal commission, with the statement: 'Here is what I have expended on my buildings. There remains only to rebuild my house. All I ask of you is the amount necessary for that purpose.'

"Imagine his surprise when the commission reply: 'We have nothing to do with advances that are not made with our approval; we examine only the total of your losses and apply to it the coefficient which we deem equitable. Your estimate of actual losses is exaggerated. We decide, upon expert advice, to reduce it to 25,000 francs. The coefficient 6 is perhaps well enough for the work of repair. It will not do for an aggregate of new construction. We consider that the proper coefficient is 5.'

[1] The passage which follows has been slightly condensed in translation.

"The account then appears as follows:

Actual loss (value in 1914)	25,000 francs
Coefficient of supplementary costs	5 "
Total indemnity	125,000 francs
Deduction for advance received	108,000 "
Balance to be accorded	17,000 francs

"The sinistré thus finds himself in presence of a sum less by a fourth or a half of what is needed to rebuild his house and complete the work of restoration."

Even more regrettable, M. d'Aubigny added, was the fact that in various departments, notably in the Somme, sinistrés had received from the commissions awards whose total, including actual loss and supplements, was less than the amount of the advances which had been made; with the result that sinistrés who had completed only two-thirds or three-fourths of the necessary restoration actually found themselves indebted to the state. What will happen if the coefficient falls to 3 or 2.50? Obviously, many sinistrés will be ruined and reconstruction will stop.

The remedy for the evil, in the opinion of the commission, was to be found only in an immediate simplification of the elaborate and time-consuming formalities which the administration had prescribed, and which as a rule involved a delay of three or four months between the time when a request for an advance was filed and the time when the money was received. A speedier decision regarding indemnities and the establishment of fixed dates of payment was even more important for the coöperative societies than for the individual sinistrés, because the societies were

required by law to adopt a program of construction and to decide questions of urgency. So long as claims to damages were indefinitely held up and payments made irregularly, coöperative reconstruction could with difficulty go on at all.

The budget commission was particularly severe in its criticism of the excessive number of functionaries, the continuance of bureaux or services no longer necessary, the unduly large orders given for materials and the high prices paid, the alteration of contracts against the advice of technical committees, and the wasteful and extravagant expenditures for temporary or semi-durable houses. A number of light railways on which considerable sums had been spent were condemned as unnecessary, and the opinion was expressed that the whole subject of railway transport should be transferred to the Ministry of Public Works, to whose jurisdiction it naturally belonged. A minute examination of the offices of industrial and agricultural reconstitution, the latter of which had already been made the subject of a special inquiry, disclosed uncommercial methods which were adjudged to be extravagant and wasteful.

The substance of the various recommendations of the budget commission was that the state should cease altogether to be either buyer, seller, contractor, or exploiter in any matters in which state property or state interests were not involved, and that the commercial methods which obtained before the war should be resumed. There should be a fixed budget for the Ministry of the Liberated Regions corresponding to the resources of the treasury from year to year, and the

powers of the ministry should be enlarged wherever necessary to insure proper centralization, but the functions of the office should be limited to those of evaluation, control, and payment.

It is evident from the summary which has just been given that the budget commission took on the whole a highly individualistic view of the reconstruction problem, that a marked restriction of government activity for the future seemed to it not only highly desirable but imperative, and that it was distinctly favorable to the participation of Germany in the work of restoration.

The precise weight of its criticisms, on the other hand, is not easy to gauge impartially and in any case is somewhat a matter of opinion. Unquestionably there had been both extravagance and waste, and the list of salaried functionaries was undoubtedly excessive. Neither in purchase nor in sale had commercial standards always been observed, and the market value of materials and their cost to the state or the sinistré did not always correspond. It was clear that industrial reconstruction had been favored at the expense of agriculture, and that the endless red tape of official procedure had embarrassed coöperative societies and individual sinistrés at almost every turn. The provision of a labor supply had not been forthcoming, and it was at least a question whether the huge credits voted for reconstruction purposes had not in consequence exceeded the human resources available for rebuilding. The millions which had been spent on temporary houses, few of which had permanent value for any purpose, would have gone far toward rebuilding the

houses that had been injured or destroyed if a systematic plan for permanent reconstruction could have been adopted at the beginning. The evaluation of war damages was admittedly a complicated task, but with approximately four hundred cantonal commissions in operation as early as July, 1919, the interminable delays are difficult to excuse.

These are weighty criticisms not to be ignored. They are not, however, the whole story. There are other considerations which, in any fair view of the question, should equally be weighed. The reconstruction of the devastated departments was not wholly a matter of organization and mathematics; it was also a question of politics, of public opinion, and of class rivalry. The patriotic determination to restore as quickly as possible what the war had destroyed was crossed by the fear, shown throughout the long debate in Parliament over the law of war damages, that unless the reëmployment of indemnities was insisted upon large numbers of sinistrés would not return. The dissolution of the *union sacrée* which repressed party strife while the war was going on revived, after the armistice, the class controversies and struggles of peasants, farmers, artisans, industrialists, and capitalists which have long played leading parts in French politics, and which expose every benefit obtained by one class to the hostile criticisms of those who do not share in it. There was the powerful tradition that the peasant farmers, hereditary enemies of the skilled workers and of people who live in towns, ought first to be considered, that the restoration of a small farm was of greater social importance than the rebuilding of

a factory or the reopening of a mine, and that the desires and prejudices of individuals took rank before the welfare of the community as a whole.

There were directions, too, in which the element of time combined with that of politics to produce uncertainty and delay. The question of the German reparations and indemnities, dragging its weary length over twenty-two long months after the peace before a decision was reached, and kept in evidence even to-day by reactionary politicians for whom the war has not yet ceased, clouded the whole path of government finance so far as reconstruction was concerned. On the other hand, until that question was settled and the natural feeling of bitterness and resentment born of the war had moderated, dealings with Germany were practically impossible. It would have been easy, as the budget commission of 1921 suggested, to obtain building material from Germany or to recruit German labor for reconstruction work, but public opinion was hostile so long as no reparation payments had been made. If labor was scarce in the liberated regions notwithstanding that wages were high, it was because a farm laborer is not a mechanic and a miner is not a farmer as well as because German, Austrian, Italian, or Polish workmen were not imported. The myth of a "labor supply," capable of being drawn upon in bulk wherever there is a shortage, was as widely held in France as in other countries, but no inducement of wages could draw skilled workmen from Paris, Lyons, or Marseille for plowing and harvesting in the Somme or the Aisne, or transform the agriculturalists of the north into masons or carpenters.

It is apparent that a considerable part of the popular criticism of reconstruction which finds expression in France takes the point of view of the small farmer whose buildings have not yet been restored and whose claims for damages have not yet been settled. The budget commission of 1921 presented detailed statistics showing the decreased crops, on land that had been restored, as compared with production in 1914. The situation of many small farmers in the devastated area is unquestionably distressing. One may still find many small villages—some of the most striking examples are regularly shown to tourists who patronize automobile excursions from Paris to London—which stand to-day in almost the same condition of ghastly ruin in which the war left them. Here again, however, there is another side. A careful inspection of the whole devtion is most apparent are, in the great majority of astated area shows that the villages in which desolacases, those which in 1914 had less than fifteen hundred inhabitants each, and that the neighboring farms are generally under cultivation even when the village is a waste. It is indeed a pity that these villages have not been rebuilt, but it would nevertheless have been a mistaken policy, since everything could not be done at once, to give them priority and let industry wait.

Nor is the agricultural situation as bad as it has sometimes been painted. An examination of the figures presented by the budget commission shows that with the exception of the Aisne, in which the crop production in 1920 was less than half that of 1914, the average diminution of production per hectare was less than twenty per cent. as compared with the period

before the war. It would have been remarkable if, remembering the favorable conditions which many years of intensive cultivation had brought about, land which the war had torn to pieces should in two years, with as yet a scanty supply of stock for its enrichment, have resumed its former fertility. As a matter of fact, even the Aisne had a fair grain crop in 1920, the crops in general went beyond local needs in that year, and the grain harvest of 1921 was one of the best that France has ever known. The production of one of the most important crops, namely sugar beets, was the same per hectare in 1920 as before the war in the Marne, one quintal per hectare, or one-third of one per cent. less in the Pas-de-Calais, and sixteen per cent. less in the Oise. The falling off in the value of the sugar-beet crop in 1921 was primarily due to drought and the backwardness of the sugar-factory owners in rebuilding their works, rather than to the mistakes of reconstruction. The budget commission voiced the sound opinion that until the invaded departments had something to sell the cost of living, which means also the rates of wages, would not decline. It is clear that, although half a million of the former population has not yet returned, the condition which the commission desired is already being attained in agriculture. It would be superfluous to point out that the products of the factories and the mines, rapidly approaching and in some cases already exceeding the volume of production before the war, create a revenue in whose benefits agriculture also shares.

The most serious and regrettable failures of reconstruction are to be found, not in the smaller villages,

but in the still unrelieved ruins of Albert, Arras, Lens, Béthune, Reims, Verdun, and many other large towns. For the desolation which still prevails in these centers the dilatory methods of the cantonal commissions, the necessity of relocating street and property lines before building permits can be issued, and the maze of formalities elaborated in the Ministry of the Liberated Regions appear to be primarily responsible.[1]

The budget commission urged strongly the abandonment by the state of its rôle of buyer, seller, and contractor and the adoption in the future of recognized commercial methods. The change is undoubtedly desirable now; indeed, it is already rapidly taking place. The Central Purchasing Agency is winding up its affairs and disposing of its remaining stocks, and the accumulated supplies of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions are being rapidly reduced or turned over to the coöperative reconstruction societies. The provision of law by which sinistrés may now borrow on the security of future indemnities is further facilitating the change, the larger industrial establishments have to a considerable extent adopted commercial methods from the beginning, and the railways have from the first been

[1] An interesting plan for hastening reconstruction was set forth at the end of December, 1921, by the prefect of the Somme. It was proposed to divide the department into eighteen sectors, formed by grouping communes, and to delegate to one of the coöperative societies of the sectors so much of the war damage claims for real property as the sinistrés wished to re-employ in the restoration of their houses. When the claims held by any one society amounted approximately to 15,000,000 francs, the society was to make a contract with some large concern equipped to undertake the aggregate amount of rebuilding involved, and willing to enter into an agreement to complete the work in three or four years. The plan received the approval of the mayors of the communes and the organization of the sectors has been begun.

independent. Whether in the past, however, commercial methods would have helped the smaller sinistrés or the farmers may be doubted. There is little reason to suppose that reliance upon the ordinary processes in buying and selling would have produced better housing, or insured better provision of building materials, machinery, tools, seed, household furnishings, cattle, or medical supplies, or obtained priority of transport for the numberless commodities of which the invaded departments had need. They could in any case have worked successfully only where the sinistrés had capital or security, and it was precisely capital and security that most sinistrés lacked.

The question of coefficients is obviously one of great complexity. The cost of replacing property having a given value in 1914 varies not only with each particular kind of property, but also with different departments and from year to year. If work is slack and contracts are eagerly sought, prices are likely to fall; if building is active and labor fully employed, prices tend to rise. The determination of any coefficient, accordingly, involves numerous hypothetical factors, especially when a given piece of work necessarily continues over many months. On the other hand, the more elaborate the tables of coefficients applicable to different kinds of property, the greater the task of a cantonal commission in applying the tables to the damage claims presented, and the greater likelihood of disputes and consequent delays. If, in addition, the commission takes an arbitrary stand and applies a coefficient appreciably lower than the sinistré had the right to expect or the advance payment of money rea-

sonably implied, the unhappy situation so graphically sketched by M. d'Aubigny in his report inevitably arises.

A good deal of adverse criticism was evoked by a circular of the Minister of the Liberated Regions, issued in the spring of 1921, advising the cantonal commissions and the technical experts associated with them that, in his opinion, no building ought thereafter to be reconstructed with a coefficient greater than 3.25 —the same figure which the budget commission had adopted as an average in estimating the total cost of reconstruction. It was at once objected that, while it might be possible in other departments to build in 1921 at only three and one-fourth times the cost of building in 1914, the added cost of material, labor, and transport in the invaded departments, due in part to distance and the lack of labor and housing, made such a figure prohibitive. The desire of the ministry to keep down the cost of reconstruction by adopting as low a coefficient as possible is easily understood. It is also clear that, from the standpoint of administration, a coefficient which is the same for all departments is easier to apply than varying coefficients for different departments or different kinds of building. The force of the circular was weakened, however, by the fact that the ministry itself was not consistent. In May, 1920, for example, the technical committee of the Marne had divided that department into three zones, with a different scale of coefficients for each zone. In March, 1921, the zones were abolished and the department was treated as a whole, but with coefficients varying from 3.50 francs to 5 francs on the basis of

1914 values for different classes of work, together with supplements of from one to ten centimes for expenses of transport.[1] A system which was desirable for the Marne could hardly be wholly undesirable for the other invaded departments.

The proposal has been made, as a solution of the problem, that the cantonal commissions should agree upon the damages to be awarded for rebuilding during a period of twelve months, using the coefficients applicable at the time the award is made, and that the oversight of the work should be intrusted to the co-operative reconstruction societies which have now been organized in most of the cantons.[2] It is urged that the actual coefficients would probably not change much in twelve months, especially where work was done under contract. If for any reason the work proposed was not completed within the period named, the unfinished portion could be evaluated at the end of the year and other coefficients, if necessary, applied. The success of such a plan would depend mainly upon two things: prompt action by the commissions in evaluating damages, and prompt and regular payments by the state through the prefects. For the dilatory methods of the cantonal commissions no effective remedy has been found. The prompt payment of indemnities, on the other hand, presents no difficulties once the claims of sinistrés are fixed, since the annual credits voted by Parliament for the liberated regions are at least as great as can be properly spent, and the Crédit National, through which payments are effected, has

[1] *Bulletin des Régions Libérées*, March 19, 1921.
[2] M. André Tardieu in *L'Illustration*, June 4, 1921.

from the first dealt with businesslike efficiency with the claims that have reached it.

The burden of criticism of the reconstruction program, in short, rests in the last analysis upon the cantonal commissions and the excessive formalities of official red tape. It is not easy to see, as has already been said, how a better system than that of the commissions could have been devised. As for administrative formalities, they are not in general appreciably greater than those which characterize every branch of government service in France. It is perhaps reasonable to hope that, under the pressure of public opinion and the abolition of needless requirements by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, the work of the commissions may be speeded sufficiently to allow all the primary work of evaluating damages to be disposed of by the end of 1922.

CHAPTER XII

THE WORK OF THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES

For many years before the war coöperative societies for buying and selling had played an important part in the life of country districts and villages in all parts of France, and associations or syndicates of farmers had done something to improve agricultural methods and safeguard the interests of farmers in matters of legislation. The political importance of the organizations was considerable, and did not noticeably diminish even though the agricultural population declined. Beyond this point, however, the idea of coöperation did not grow. It was not easy for the French farmer to cooperate. By nature an extreme individualist, jealous of his rights and privileges, and invincibly attached to the soil which he and his ancestors had cultivated for generations and which would pass to his descendants when he died, the farmer looked with pronounced suspicion upon every proposal for dealing with the government through third parties, and could not easily be induced to confide to any organization the protection of his property or his affairs. It was the same with the small merchants and artisans, and with the townspeople who drew their modest incomes from rents or investments. What they had was their own, and they preferred to administer it themselves. The coöperative spirit hardly existed. The successful establishment of coöperative societies for reconstruction was, accordingly, a triumph which one who does not know

the rural and provincial life of France cannot easily appreciate.

The way was undoubtedly in part prepared by the growth of trade unions among the industrial workers and the corresponding development of syndicates of employers, and by the new sense of common effort, common sacrifice and suffering, and personal comradeship born of the war. Men and women who had worked together in a mighty effort to save the nation found it easier to work together to save themselves. The immediate occasion for the organization of a new coöperation, however, is to be found in the ignorance and misunderstandings of great numbers of sinistrés in the presence of reconstruction, the complicated dossiers which the preparation of damage claims involved, annoying controversies with architects, contractors, and government agents, difficulties in obtaining building material, supplies, and labor, and the frequent attempts of the government to beat down claims. Theoretically, perhaps, the course marked out for the sinistrés in all these matters was clear and well-defined, but in practice the sinistré often found himself enmeshed in troubles from which he could not by his own efforts hope to escape. It was to deal with this situation that the coöperative reconstruction societies were formed. As is usual in such cases, a few leading sinistrés framed the proposals and directed the work of organization, but with remarkable unanimity the great majority of sinistrés except the industrials acquiesced. The larger industrial sinistrés, possessed of organizations and resources of their own, have never been a part of the coöperative movement and were not in general in need of its assistance.

The full legal recognition of coöperative reconstruction societies in their present form dates only from August 15, 1920, when the organization and powers of such societies were for the first time regulated by law. Very early in the war, however, the formation of groups of sinistrés had been begun, and by 1919 an active campaign was in progress in a number of departments for the spread of the idea. Among the leaders of the movement special mention should be made of the Marquis de Lubersac, now senator from the Aisne, to whose energy and devotion the coöperative societies have from the beginning been deeply indebted. A pamphlet prepared by M. Francis Delaisi [1] and issued under the joint auspices of the society known as La Renaissance des Cités and a bureau of the American Red Cross, expounded forcibly the need and value of coöperation for reconstruction purposes and outlined the way in which coöperative societies should be formed. Although the societies organized before 1920 appear to have had no definite legal basis, and were consequently to be regarded as informal agents of the sinistrés rather than as bodies with an independent place in the general scheme of reconstruction, they nevertheless were early given official recognition by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, and typical forms of statutes were prepared which, if adopted by a society, received ministerial approval. The societies were allowed to receive on behalf of their members the advances granted by the government for the preparation of dossiers, and also the first advance of twenty per cent. toward the cost of rebuilding. A circular of

[1] *La Cooperative de Construction.*

December 22, 1919,[1] required them to choose architects, if any were employed, from lists which had received ministerial approval.

It should be pointed out that none of the societies possessed any capital and none were organized for profit. Their small necessary expenses were met from membership contributions of sinistrés, and membership was entirely voluntary. There were neither rebates nor commissions. If by good fortune or good management a piece of work which a society undertook to perform for a sinistré was executed for less than the amount of the indemnity allowed, the balance did not accrue to the society, but remained available for the sinistré if he could show that the whole indemnity was ultimately to be reëmployed. The societies, in short, were merely extra-legal organizations to which their members delegated certain powers as agents, and which the government recognized because they were obviously useful.

In order, apparently, to eliminate from other unions or associations of sinistrés the possibility of profit, and to assimilate all such organizations to the coöperative type, a ministerial circular of May 25, 1920, directed that the members of such associations should be allowed the benefits of the existing system of advances only in case they were composed entirely of sinistrés, submitted their statutes for ministerial approval, had their offices in the devastated regions, limited their work to the preparation of dossiers of damages for their members, prohibited profits, and agreed to accept

[1] Further elaborated on December 24. The Minister of the Liberated Regions at this time was M. André Tardieu.

administrative control and financial supervision. Capital already invested, however, was to be entitled to a fair remuneration.

All of these preliminary arrangements were revised and the matter given permanent form by the law of August 15, 1920.[1] The law, elaborated from a primitive proposal of M. Ogier, then Minister of the Liberated Regions, authorized the formation of coöperative societies of sinistrés for the purpose of taking part, for the benefit of their members, in all the operations involved in the reconstruction of buildings or other real property, including the preparation of dossiers, the evaluation of damages, the execution, supervision, and payment of reconstruction work, and the reëmployment of advances. The societies, which were given the status of civil persons for legal purposes, were to continue in existence as long as the work for which they were formed remained to be done, and were not to be dissolved before that time save for grave cause and by the decision of a majority of the members. Control of the affairs of a society was vested in a general assembly, comprising at least two-thirds of the members and representing also at least one-half of the total amount of the indemnities in which the society was interested. Administrative control, on the other hand, was in the hands of a council, from which any member who had entered into any contract with the society was excluded. The funds of the society were limited to contributions toward expenses made by members, payments made by the state for the benefit of sinistrés, and gifts or legacies. An account with the society was to be opened with the agencies through

[1] See Appendix C.

which state payments were made (*i.e.*, the Crédit National), and the society itself was to open an account with each of its members. The members might not withdraw so long as any indemnities received for them by the society were still unemployed or while work which had been undertaken for them was in progress.

Each society was privileged to determine for itself the order in which reconstruction work should be undertaken. For the purpose of defraying general expenses a grant was to be made by the state, varying from one per cent. on work not exceeding 500,000 francs in value to fifteen one-hundredths of one per cent. when the value of the work exceeded 200,000,000 francs; in other words, the larger the contract the smaller the percentage of contribution by the state. Special grants for the establishment of revolving funds were also provided for, and contracts for the clearing of débris might be made with a society by the state. Departments, communes, and public institutions as well as individuals might become members, and unions of societies might be formed for buying, selling, centralizing accounts, or other appropriate purposes. The law was made applicable to the new departments of the Moselle, Haut-Rhin, and Bas-Rhin as well as to those of the liberated regions.

These were the general provisions. In order to benefit by the financial provisions of the law, however, a coöperative society must be officially approved. Such approval was to be granted on four conditions. The statutes of the society must conform in all essential respects to typical statutes drawn up by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions; the selection of architects

and contractors must be made from a list approved for each department, the societies themselves, however, having a voice in the approval of names; there was to be state supervision of accounts; and not more than one society was to be formed in a commune unless the losses of its members, calculated on the basis of values in 1914, amounted to at least one million francs. Any of the existing societies formed for reconstruction purposes, whether of the coöperative type or not, might obtain ministerial approval by conforming to these conditions.

It will be observed that the law of August 15 did not legislate other associations than the coöperative societies out of existence. It merely denied to them the privilege of acting for the sinistrés in any financial matters connected with the payment of indemnities or their reëmployment. Moreover, membership in a cooperative reconstruction society was not made compulsory: the war damages law of April 17, 1919, was still the fundamental law for every sinistré, and the only claim of the coöperative society to support was its ability to do for the sinistré what he could not easily do for himself. By requiring a coöperative society to open an account with each of its members the law emphasized the fact that the society acted under a mandate given by the sinistré, with the sole object of aiding him to safeguard his rights and carry out his wishes in the matter of rebuilding. On the other hand, the sinistré who joined a coöperative society became thereby a member of a body whose sole function it was to push the claims of its members as a whole, to deal with contracts collectively in accordance with a carefuly prepared program, and to represent

the sinistré in the complicated transactions which the administrative system involved.

The issuance in October of decrees interpreting and applying the provisions of the law and prescribing the general form of statutes to be adopted by the individual societies was followed by other ministerial circulars regulating the system of accounts, the procedure for the approval of the societies which wished to take advantage of the law, and the application of the law to the new departments of the Moselle, Haut-Rhin, and Bas-Rhin. The method of compiling lists of approved architects and contractors was made the subject of an elaborate circular on January 11, 1921. The first published list, comprising forty-three names of architects, was that of the Nord department.

In applying the financial provisions of the law of August 15 the state undertook to advance to each approved society with at least seven members 50 francs per member, the total amount, however, to be not less than 500 francs nor more than 3,000 francs. The revolving funds were to be paid only after the approval by the prefect of the program of work submitted by the society, and were not to exceed 25 per cent. of the total credit allowed for the work proposed. As this advance represented the sum of the advances to which the individual members of the society were entitled, all individual advances to members were of course discontinued. Payments were not made in cash, but credits for the amounts advanced were opened with a designated branch of the Crédit National, the society drawing upon this credit by means of checks. The installments of the revolving funds were regarded as having been repaid when the society presented proper

evidence that the work in question had been completed, but the grant of further credit would serve to recreate the fund. Contracts between the societies and approved architects and contractors were regarded as private matters in which the state was not concerned, although model forms of contract were drawn up by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions for the benefit of such societies as chose to use them.

The reorganization of the societies under the new law went on rapidly. In the department of the Marne, for example, 214 of the 268 communes which had suffered during the war were in a position, by virtue of the importance of the losses which they had sustained, to form coöperative reconstruction societies. Before the adoption of the law of August 15, 1920, there were in existence in that department 147 societies representing 210 communes. By the middle of June, 1921, 132 societies representing 207 communes had been reorganized, and of that number 128, representing 204 communes, had been approved. The members of these approved societies numbered 9,456, while the aggregate amount of the losses sustained, on the basis of values in 1914 and not counting the increased cost of replacement, was 338,458,000 francs. All of the approved societies had adopted plans of rebuilding for 1921, the aggregate amount involved being about 250,000,000 francs. The system of advances for revolving funds had been established for the department on April 1, and since that date 25,115,080 francs had been paid to the societies.[1]

The weekly *Bulletin of the Liberated Regions* for 1921 contains frequent lists of societies which had

[1] *Bulletin des Régions Libérées*, June 15, 1921.

been given ministerial approval. On May 7, for example, 23 societies in the Ardennes were accepted; on May 15, 63 societies in the Meuse; on May 26, 98 societies in the Aisne; on May 28, 18 additional societies in the Ardennes; on June 11, 9 societies in the Pas-de-Calais; on June 27, 10 societies in the Somme. In the department of the Aisne there were, on September 20, 245 approved societies, representing war damages to the amount (value in 1914) of 622,000,000 francs.

The law of August 15 authorized the societies to group themselves in unions, and numerous such unions, with the arrondissement as the basis, were presently formed. In the Marne two unions had been formed by June, 1921, one of 35 rural societies in the arrondissement of Reims, the other of 18 societies in the valley of the Marne. The Laon union, in the Aisne, comprised in October 85 societies, representing actual losses of 232,000,000 francs and a reconstruction cost of more than four times that amount; the Soissons union, 64 societies with 240,000,000 francs of damages; the St. Quentin union, 15 societies with 240,000,000 francs of damages; the Vervins union, 54 societies and 75,000,000 francs of damages; and the union of Château-Thierry, 31 societies with damages of 48,000,000 francs.

In July, 1921, the legal status of the unions was regulated on lines similar to those laid down for the individual societies, and state subventions were granted[1] at the rate of 2,000 francs per annum for each member society up to ten, 1,000 francs for each such member society from 11 to 30, 800 francs each for from 31 to 40, 600 francs each for from 41 to 50, 500 francs for from 51 to 100, and 300 francs for each

[1] Decree of August 29, applying the law of July 12.

member society over one hundred. The unions were also allowed to contract loans on the same basis as individual sinistrés in accordance with the budget law of July 31, 1920, already referred to.[1]

The next step in organization was the grouping of unions in departmental federations. With the formation later of a confederation representing the federations of all the invaded departments, the organization of the sinistrés was made complete.

A striking example of what a coöperative reconstruction society was able to accomplish is afforded by the city of Reims. Of approximately 13,800 buildings of all kinds in Reims in July, 1914, 13,500 were dwellings. 8,600 buildings of various kinds were totally destroyed, and all of the remainder were more or less injured. The total of war damages, distributed among 7,000 property holders, was estimated at 300,000,000 francs on the basis of values in 1914, equivalent to about 1,200,000,000 francs in cost of replacement. Down to the beginning of September, 1921, 3,000 buildings had been entirely restored, 2,850 of this number being dwellings. The number of buildings to whose restoration, complete or in progress, the coöperative society had at that date given its aid was 4,500, and for these it had received advances from the state to the aggregate of 120,000,000 francs. These figures do not include industrial reconstruction for the reason, as has already been stated, that industrial reconstruction is not within the field of the coöperative societies. The membership of the Reims society, which in October, 1919, numbered only thirty, is now more than 2,300, the society being the largest in the invaded

[1] Page 199.

departments.[1] At the annual meeting of the Reims society in December the president, the Marquis de Polignac, stated that the amount allotted to Reims for reconstruction purposes in 1922 would aggregate 200,000,000 francs, and that if advances at this rate continued and architects and contractors did their part, the complete restoration of the city might be anticipated in six or seven years.

One of the important services which the coöperative societies rendered to the cause of reconstruction was that of criticism of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions. Had that ministry functioned as well in fact as its voluminous output of circulars and instructions might lead one to suppose, the coöperative effort of sinistrés might not have been necessary; but its shortcomings, if not always avoidable, were nevertheless numerous and irritating, and official pronouncements did not always remedy the difficulties with which they dealt. The unions and departmental federations of cooperatives attacked the problem persistently. They pointed out the dilatory and unsystematic methods of the cantonal commissions. They questioned the acts of technical experts and administrative agents and the rulings of prefects, resisted the arbitrary imposition of coefficients, and claimed from the state the full and fair performance of all that the state undertook to do. They insisted upon competency and honesty in architects and contractors, and exposed unfair practices and excessive charges wherever such appeared.[2] It is to

[1] I am indebted to M. Georges Marret, general secretary of the Reims society, for these figures.

[2] In September, 1921, the departmental federation of the Aisne protested against "the scandalous exaggeration of the scale of payments to experts designated by the cantonal commission," and

the credit of the present minister, M. Loucheur, that in spite of all the attacks to which the ministry was subjected, he has coöperated cordially with the societies, and has rarely failed to take their point of view once a case has been fully presented and discussed.

What has just been said can best be illustrated by a few examples taken from the proceedings of local societies, unions, and federations.

The following vote is taken from the records of the coöperative reconstruction society of Chassemy, a small village in the Aisne:

"The members of the Chassemy coöperative, assembled in general session on October 14, 1921, as required by law, being desirous of insuring the methodical continuation of the work now in hand and also of aiding, to the extent of its ability, in its prompt completion, earnestly requests M. ———, their architect, whose demonstrated competency they recognize, to give a large part of his attention to the organization of the work as a whole and the coördination of the different parts of the undertaking, and this from the point of view of the coöperative no less than from that of the general contractor; and they accordingly ask him, being convinced that the amount of his remuneration is such as to admit of the sacrifice, to organize definitively and as soon as possible in the village, as he has from the beginning intended to do, an office where the members of the society may find him or his representative on fixed days. They attach the greatest importance to this request and beg the honor of a reply."

The general assembly of the coöperative of Coucy-le-Château, at a meeting on May 29, 1921, expressed its opinion as follows regarding the cantonal commission:

demanded better guaranty regarding the method of choosing such experts.

"In view of the fact that the dossiers of war damages have all been filed;

"In view of the fact that the cantonal commission has not yet examined any dossier of real property, and that it is indispensable that the sinistrés be apprised as soon as possible of the amount of their losses and indemnities;

"We express the opinion that the cantonal commission of Coucy-le-Château ought to comprise an active, stable, and competent personnel, to the end that it may decide without delay upon the actual loss sustained, leaving if necessary to a later date the evaluation of supplementary costs [of rebuilding]."

The official organ of the Aisne federation published the foregoing resolution with this comment:

"We are heartily in accord with the desires of the sorely-tried population of Coucy-le-Château, and we hope that satisfaction will promptly be given. We nevertheless make some reservations regarding the last clause, deeming the main thing to be *the full application of the law of April 17, 1919.* The commissions must decide upon both the actual loss and the supplementary costs, first because that is the law and in that law alone is to be found our sole plank of safety; second, because the cantonal commissions have already spent too much time in considering the dossiers, and if they have to sit twice for the same object they will never get through."

The following vote was adopted by the Béthune union on August 22, 1921:

"The Federation of Coöperative Reconstruction societies of the Béthune arrondissement regrets that the prefecture of the Pas-de-Calais has not yet put in force the new scale [of prices] for reconstruction promised a long time ago, and urgently requests that this new scale be put into effect without delay and communicated to the coöperatives, and that, following the example of neighboring departments, it may be kept up to date by monthly publication."

These illustrations, which could easily be multiplied many times, will suffice for the critical side. In the

main, however, the coöperative societies have devoted themselves to helping on in every way possible the work of reconstruction. Their activities in that direction have been as multifarious as the task itself has been large. They have aided in the preparation of the dossiers of war damages for their members; elaborated systems of accounting; made contracts for clearing débris (*déblaiement*), the initiative in such work being devolved by the ministry exclusively upon the societies or upon individual sinistrés; undertaken by contract the repair or erection of buildings;[1] received and expended the funds provided by the state for the payment of damages; dealt with the questions of reëmployment of indemnities, coefficients, supplies of material, provision of labor and transport, the employment of architects, and the superintendence of construction; arranged for the utilization of stocks of material and merchandise remaining in the hands of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions; investigated local prices of labor and charges for hotel accommodations and the use of horses, wagons, and trucks; and studied the application of sanitary laws in the devastated departments. The general assemblies of the societies, held at regular intervals, have been open forums for the discussion of all questions in which the members were interested, and pains have been taken to explain the requirements of laws, decrees, and ministerial circulars and to insure conformity to their provisions. It is not too much to say that wherever to-day, throughout the liberated

[1] On December 5, 1921, the president of the confederation of coöperative societies was able to advise the affiliated groups that the full amount of the credits required to pay for the work performed in 1921 was in the hands of the prefects, and that the credits necessary for the payment in 1922 of work equal in amount to that of 1921 were also available.

regions, the progress in the reconstruction of non-industrial property is most rapid, an energetic and well-administered coöperative society will be found to be chiefly responsible.

Not all of the sinistrés are members of coöperative societies, and not all of the societies are members of the arrondissement unions. A small percentage of sinistrés have preferred to act independently, and a few societies still remain outside of the unions because their statutes have not yet been approved. Generally speaking, however, all of the larger associations and most of the smaller ones have joined the movement. Membership in the unions has been made particularly desirable by the recent action of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions in putting isolated societies on the same footing as isolated sinistrés, as well as by the further fact that none of the financial benefits accorded by the law of 1920 can be enjoyed by societies which are not approved. A ministerial circular of December 15, 1921, directed the prefects to insure the examination by the proper administrative agents, during the first three months of 1922, of the dossiers of all members of coöperative societies for whom the societies had planned to do work during that year.

The contrast between the reconstruction work done under the direction of coöperative societies and that done under the ordinary routine of the state is a further tangible argument which has not passed unnoticed. One has only to compare such a village as Chassemy, almost completely destroyed by the war, but to-day, thanks to a coöperative society capably administered, about two-thirds rebuilt in solid and attractive style, with the neighboring village of

Sarcy where, with no coöperative but with full liberty for the individual employment of architects and contractors, there has been but little rebuilding and much of that little poorly done, to realize the practical value of coöperation.

The laws of August, 1920, and July, 1921, establishing the legal bases of the coöperative reconstruction societies and unions, recognized the essentially temporary character of the organizations by providing that the period of their existence should be determined by the completion of the work which they were formed to do. A considerable number of the organizations have fixed the period of their duration at five years. In September, 1921, M. Loucheur, Minister of the Liberated Regions, expressed to the interparliamentary group of senators and deputies from the invaded departments the hope that the work of the cantonal commissions in the evaluation of damages would be completed by September, 1922. If this hope is realized, it is perhaps reasonable to expect that the restoration of private buildings, other than industrial establishments, will have been mainly completed within three or four years after that date.[1] By 1925 or 1926, accordingly, most of the coöperative societies will probably have closed up their affairs. There is no reason why they should continue after their work is done, but the record of their coöperative service will continue to be read in the homes and shops which they will have helped to rebuild and in the community life which they will have helped to restore.

[1] In November, in an address to a delegation of mayors from the devastated communes, M. Loucheur stated that six years was the shortest period within which the completion of reconstruction could be hoped for (Paris *Matin*, November 18).

CHAPTER XIII

MONUMENTS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Long before the war most of the public and many of the private buildings in France which possessed special historical or artistic value and interest had been classed as monuments and taken under the special supervision of the state. The list included most of the older churches and cathedrals, town halls (*hôtels de ville*), numerous châteaux and palaces, and many houses or other structures illustrative of architectural development or associated with notable historical events or the lives of famous men and women. In some cases the entire cost of repairs and maintenance was assumed by the state; where monuments were privately owned the state exercised control over all repairs and architectural changes. The direction of this service devolved upon the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.

The so-called separation law of December 9, 1905, which terminated the connection hitherto existing between church and state in France, left in the hands of the church all the buildings used for religious purposes to which the church had title, and devolved upon the church the maintenance of the properties subject, however, to continued state approval in the case of monuments. If the buildings were injured or destroyed, any indemnities received in compensation for losses—for example, the proceeds of fire insurance—

were required to be used for the reconstruction of a similar building of the same value as before and destined for the same purpose.

The war worked sad havoc with the monuments of the invaded departments. An official list, not complete, shows about six hundred churches, cathedrals, town halls, and other buildings destroyed or damaged. The work of destruction reached its maximum in the Aisne, where 180 monuments were injured or ruined. The list includes the birthplace of La Fontaine at Château-Thierry, the thirteenth century château at Fère-en-Tardenois remodeled in the sixteenth century by Anne de Montmorency, constable of France; the famous donjon at Coucy-le-Château, the best example of medieval civil architecture in France; the cathedral, bishop's house, and Knights Templars' chapel at Laon, the town hall at St. Quentin, the picturesque remains of the twelfth century Cistercian abbey at Longpont, and the cathedral of Nôtre Dame and the abbey of St. Léger at Soissons.

In the Marne, where 123 monuments suffered, the greatest injury was done at Reims. The Reims list includes, besides the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, the palace and chapel of the archbishop, dating from the fifteenth century; the beautiful façade of the town hall; the Musicians' House of the thirteenth century; a group of medieval wooden houses, and the birthplace of Jean Baptiste de la Salle, founder of the teaching order of Christian Brothers. The cathedral of St. Étienne at Châlons-sur-Marne, begun in the thirteenth century, also suffered.

In the Oise the monuments injured or destroyed

numbered 71, among them being the beautiful Gothic cathedral of St. Peter at Beauvais, begun in 1227, and the Roman-Gothic church of St. Étienne, dating from the twelfth century; the fourteenth century church at Clermont; the palace or château at Compiègne, long a favorite residence of the kings of France, together with the town hall; the twelfth century cathedral of Nôtre Dame at Noyon, one of the most beautiful of the French cathedrals, and the town hall; and the splendid cathedral of Nôtre Dame at Senlis.

In the other invaded departments the destruction of monuments was numerically less extensive: 32 in the Pas-de-Calais, 36 in the Nord, 35 in the Somme, 38 in the Meuse, 37 in the Ardennes, 36 in Meurthe-et-Moselle, and 6 in the Vosges. The list includes, however, the great cathedral and the belfry and façade of the town hall at Arras; the cathedral at Cambrai, the belfry and town hall at Douai, the church of St. Maurice at Lille, the cathedral at Amiens, the ancient château at Ham, the medieval château at Péronne, the town hall at Longwy, the cathedral and ducal palace at Nancy, the cathedral at Toul, the Gothic church of St. Étienne at St. Mihiel, the cathedral, cloister, bishop's palace, and town hall at Verdun, and the cathedral at St. Dié.

The total value of the properties destroyed is estimated at about 900,000,000 francs, to which is to be added a considerable sum, as yet undetermined, representing the value of art objects, furnishings, and personal property stolen, carried away, or destroyed.

No money indemnity could ever make good the loss of historical association and artistic value which the

destruction of monuments involved. A ruined church or town hall might be rebuilt on the same site and even in the same form, but it would be a new building, not the old one. In scores of instances even this measure of restoration was impossible, for the buildings were beyond repair. The most that could be done was to restore what was susceptible of restoration, leaving the rest to stand in the ruin which the war brought upon them or to be replaced in time by other structures of perhaps a different type.

From the beginning of the war the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts exerted itself to protect monuments which had been injured from further deterioration and to prevent as far as possible further loss. Buildings which had been damaged or wrecked were inspected, temporary repairs made, and access to buildings which were in a dangerous condition closed by fences or barricades. Statues and parts of the interior were protected by thick piles of sandbags, and great quantities of precious tapestry, paintings, plate, books, manuscripts, and records were sent for safety to the center and south of France. The larger part of the best stained glass in the cathedrals at Amiens and Beauvais was also saved. Many fine pipe organs, however, were almost a total loss, the metal pipes being in a number of cases appropriated by the Germans even when the woodwork was spared.

The war damages law of April 17, 1919, provided that, in the case of all buildings used for civil or religious purposes, the indemnity to be paid should be limited to the amount necessary for the reconstruction of a building of the same character and impor-

tance, designed for the same uses, and embodying the same guaranties of permanence, as the building destroyed. If for any reason the building could not be restored, the indemnity was to be limited to the amount necessary for the acquisition of a new site. The evaluation of damages was left, as in other cases, to the cantonal commissions and the tribunals of the arrondissements. In the case of monuments, however, the carrying out of the conditions of restoration was intrusted to a special commission under the direction of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, and the credits necessary for reconstruction were carried by the budget of that ministry.

It will be seen from what has just been said that the law of war damages recognized two classes of buildings used for public or religious purposes, namely, those which are classed as monuments and those which are not. In the first of these cases the entire control of restoration, including the decision as to whether or not restoration is possible, rests with the special commission which the law creates. In the second case the control of reconstruction, whether the buildings belong to associations or religious bodies or to communes or departments, rests with the Ministry of the Liberated Regions. In practice, as we shall see, the two administrations have sometimes found it necessary to coöperate, but for the most part their fields have remained entirely distinct. On the other hand, while many of the complicated questions involved in the reëmployment of indemnities for industrial or agricultural purposes are not likely to arise in the case of public buildings and churches, the implied permission

to acquire a new site in case a building cannot be restored involves the right of a commune or department to expropriate private property in case a suitable site cannot be obtained by private arrangement. The Council of State has officially decided that such a right exists.

The special commission provided for by the law was a strong body. Its original membership comprised two senators and three deputies elected by the respective chambers; two members of the French Academy, two members of the Academy of Fine Arts, a member of the general council for civil buildings, and two members of the Historical Monuments Commission; one representative each of the ministries of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Finance, Interior, Labor, and the Liberated Regions; one representative of each religious body interested in the restoration of buildings, designated by the Minister of the Interior; and six artists designated by the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. As at present constituted the commission consists of fifty-eight members, the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts acting as president.

Unlike the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, through which the special commission speaks and acts, does not issue frequent circulars of instructions to its agents or reports of work accomplished. The decisions of the commission are communicated to the persons whose business it is to put them into effect, and the rest is—silence. There is, accordingly, no body of accessible records to which one may go to discover what has been the policy of the commission or what results have been

achieved. The policy of silence has doubtless served very well to conceal whatever differences of opinion have arisen regarding procedure and to ward off the controversies which always follow publicity. On the other hand, the peculiar nature of the task which the commission has had to perform has made it easier to dispense with the elaborate formalities of procedure which the restoration of industry, commerce, and agriculture has entailed. There has been no question, in the case of monuments, of restoring buildings in some new form or of different material: the monuments were to be rebuilt in their original form in all essential respects at least, or they could hardly be restored at all. When, accordingly, the commission had decided as to whether or not restoration was possible and had received from the cantonal commissions the decisions regarding damages, the rest of its task was comparatively easy. Drawings or photographs and often detailed descriptions of the monuments were available, and the plan of work rather than its ultimate aim was the main thing to consider.

The chief difficulty encountered had to do with the treatment of monuments which could not be restored, either because they had been completely destroyed or because they had been injured beyond possibility of repair. The only legal provision applicable to such cases was that which limited the indemnity to the amount necessary for the acquisition of a new site. If the building in question was not the property of the state, it would appear to have been the intent of the law to assure to the owners a suitable site on which to rebuild, and to allow condemnation proceedings to

take place if necessary to secure a suitable location; but the state did not undertake either to pay for the building which had been destroyed or to contribute to the cost of erecting a new one. If the owners decided not to rebuild on another site, they were apparently not entitled to receive any indemnity at all, since under the separation laws of 1905 and 1907 the proceeds of any indemnities received on account of losses must, as has already been said, be applied to the restoration of the property in question and could not be used for other purposes. On the other hand, if the owners decided to rebuild, all of the expense except that of the new site must apparently be borne by them without state aid.

Of the approximately six hundred monuments injured or destroyed far the larger number were churches, and many of these were injured beyond repair. It will be seen at once that every decision by the commission that a church was not to be repaired meant a positive and permanent loss to the religious body to which the church belonged. It had no claim to damages for either land or buildings unless it rebuilt, and if it rebuilt on another site it must itself bear the whole cost except that of the land. In other words, monuments which were not the property of the state ceased to exist as monuments if they could not be replaced.

It is not clear that the law intended to preserve for the state any interest in new structures which might be erected on new sites beyond that of insuring a suitable location. The supervisory authority of the state apparently continues, however, in the case of monuments which, like town halls, belong to communes or departments. If they can be restored, the restoration

is supervised by the commission and the expense is met by the state. If restoration is impossible and the old site is abandoned, the plans of new buildings will apparently require the approval of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts as in the case of other public buildings in France. It is perhaps unlikely that many old sites will be abandoned, except in the few cases in which a small village is transferred bodily to a new location; but unless the state comes to the aid of the commune or department, those communities must apparently themselves bear the cost of rebuilding on the new site.

It was well that control by the commission and the ministry should continue. During the war considerable apprehension was expressed in some quarters lest, when the time for rebuilding the devastated towns arrived, advantage might be taken of the situation to introduce styles of architecture, both public and private, which if not fantastic would at least be out of keeping with what had previously obtained in the region. Some proposed structures of which models or drawings were exhibited at Paris evoked a good deal of well-founded criticism. The better way was pointed out by the French Regional Association in the following resolutions adopted in June, 1915:

1. That all reconstruction in the invaded regions should be inspired by the spirit of the region and regard for natural harmonies.
2. That the state, the communes, parish councils, presbyteries, large companies, etc., should set the example and give to public buildings or to those intended for general use, where such buildings occupy a prominent place in the community, characteristic features.
3. That the barraques needed at once to replace homes

that have been destroyed should be of a strictly provisional character, and that no permanent construction whatever ought to be undertaken until general plans have been adopted, and then under public control.

The railway companies and numerous industrial organizations have set an example of tasteful and appropriate architecture in many of the buildings which they have erected, and there is no reason to fear that the special commission or the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts will adopt standards less exacting.

The law of war damages gave the state the privilege of discharging its obligation to a sinistré by itself replacing buildings that had been destroyed. By agreement between the ministries of the Liberated Regions and Public Instruction and Fine Arts this provision of the law was to be applied in the case of monuments, whether the monuments belonged to communes, to departments, or to private parties, wherever the sinistrés were willing to relinquish their claims to indemnity in view of the restoration to be undertaken by the state.[1] In some cases the remains of monuments or other buildings of artistic or historical value were destroyed or left without sufficient protection in the course of clearing away débris. To prevent further action of that kind the prefects were instructed by the Minister of the Liberated Regions to draw up plans for clearing, and to insure coöperation between the architects employed by the department and the agents of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts having charge of the monuments.[2] The intimation

[1] Circular of the Minister of the Liberated Regions (M. Ogier), March 23, 1920.

[2] Circular of the Minister of the Liberated Regions (M. Loucheur), March 23, 1921.

was given that careless contractors would hereafter be severely dealt with.

The various budget laws of 1920 carried credits for the preservation or restoration of monuments in the invaded departments to the amount of 14,275,208 francs. Similar credits in 1921 aggregated 35,070,832 francs. The total of credits for the two years was 49,346,040 francs. Previous credits raise the total expenditure to about 60,000,000 francs. On the other hand, the budgets of the two years 1920-1921 appropriated no less than 45,056,558 francs for personnel and the payment of indemnities to functionaries of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts living in the invaded departments. It has been from the beginning the policy of the government to indemnify its agents for extra expenses or added cost of living in the liberated regions, but no such striking contrast between the amounts voted for indemnities and personnel and the amounts voted for reconstruction is to be found in any other ministry.

The disparity between the two sides of the account would perhaps invite less attention if the record of achievement in restoration or reconstruction were more substantial. Unfortunately the record is neither substantial nor encouraging. The situation in the liberated regions, so far as the condition of cathedrals, churches, town halls, and public buildings generally is concerned, is melancholy in the extreme. Scarcely any building which was seriously injured has undergone any considerable amount of restoration and far the larger number have apparently received no attention whatever save that involved in barricading entrances and supporting walls or roofs in danger of

falling. Hundreds of monuments and similar buildings are to-day in practically the same state in which the war left them: roofs gaping with shell holes or hanging in shattered sections, walls breached, wrecked interiors piled with débris, and weeds and grass overgrowing the heaps of stone, brick, and plaster untouched as yet by pick or shovel. Here and there, in some of the larger structures, parts which escaped destruction have been temporarily repaired and the use of the building has been resumed; at Verdun, for example, a portion of one of the aisles of the cathedral has been partitioned off from the main body of the church, and there services are held. Only where the damage was comparatively slight, however, has anything properly to be called restoration been carried far toward completion.

An American architect, writing in 1919 of certain temporary repairs already made or in contemplation on the Reims cathedral, recorded the "expectation" that in two years services would again be held in this most famous building of the war. Down to December, 1921, nothing had been done to the Reims cathedral to indicate that either the main body of the church or any considerable portion of it would be fit for use for several years to come. What is true of the Reims cathedral is true also, in all essential respects, of all the other cathedrals which were seriously injured, of the town halls, and of the churches. Nor is any large amount of work anywhere in progress. One journeys from city to city and from town to town to find at best only handfuls of workmen employed, and in the majority of cases none. Modest piles of stone which have been cleaned, remains of carvings or ornamental parts assembled from the ruins, a few breached walls or

shattered buttresses repaired, some temporary roofing of tarred paper or lumber placed, and a few workmen cutting or placing stone or removing débris, comprise the maximum of effort ordinarily to be recorded.

In the case of churches which were not classed as monuments, the responsibility for the deplorable conditions which have thus far prevailed is apparently to be divided between the cantonal commissions and the religious bodies, practically in all cases the Catholic church, to which the properties belong. The fact that the church, since the adoption of the separation laws, has been on the defensive in France, and that the larger number of churches are the property of the communes rather than of religious societies, doubtless goes far to explain the reluctance of the church to press its claims.

Two commendable efforts to deal with the problem, however, are to be recorded. A Catholic society known as the Œuvre de Secours aux Églises Dévastées has erected on private properties some hundreds of barraques which serve as temporary parish churches, and has supplied the altar furnishings and other material needed for religious services. The amount expended by the society, nearly all of it contributed in France, is about 15,000,000 francs. The solution of the problem of permanent reconstruction was begun by the formation in the several dioceses, in the fall of 1921, of coöperative societies the members of which are the communes holding title to churches that have been destroyed. In January, 1922, these societies united in the formation of a joint stock company (*société anonyme*) known as the Groupement des Coopératives Approuvées de Reconstruction des Églises Dévastées,

with headquarters at Paris. The plans of the company contemplate the issuance in February of a first loan of 200,000,000 francs, secured by the indemnities due from the state, to start the work of rebuilding.

That a good many of the historical and artistic monuments which were the priceless treasures of France will long preserve the memory of the war seems beyond question. The beautiful façades of more than one cathedral or town hall will not be restored, not because money will be lacking but because restoration is practically impossible. There will be ruins and to spare for generations of tourists, sites in abundance for memorial tablets telling of buildings that have disappeared. It is unlikely, however, that they will long nourish hatred or revenge, for already the war is being forgotten as agriculture and industry revive and commerce is resumed. The moral and spiritual effect of the loss of churches, which in many communities were the centers of religious and social life, is fuller of apprehension. To the aggressive political elements in France which view the church as a menace, and to the larger number who look upon religion with indifference, the loss will doubtless seem negligible if not indeed a positive gain; but for those to whom the church and its ministrations are still a solace and a guide the deprivation occasioned by the war creates a void which no merely economic reconstruction can hope to fill. It is indeed to be hoped that the work of reconstruction which is now upon the point of being begun may not lack either energy or support.

CHAPTER XIV

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF RECONSTRUCTION

THERE is doubtless a popular impression that reconstruction in France, aside from the question of the German reparations and indemnities, is a matter wholly of domestic concern. It is true that the interpretation and enforcement of the reparation provisions of the treaty of Versailles is the most important international aspect of the case, and that a failure to obtain the reparations which the Reparations Commission have approved might be financially embarrassing for France. At a number of other points, however, the restoration of the devastated departments has touched the field of international relations or involved international agreements. Reference has already been made to the work of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions in obtaining cattle and other farm animals from abroad. The remaining questions of an international character have now to be considered.

The law of war damages extended to foreigners in France as well as to French subjects the right to indemnities for war losses, subject however to treaties subsequently to be concluded between France and the various countries concerned. Pending the conclusion of such treaties, foreign sinistrés were at liberty to prepare and submit their claims to damages. The first and only agreement was made with Belgium. By an

"arrangement" entered into on October 9, 1919, each of the two countries accorded to the citizens of the other the right to reparation under the laws then in force. A similar reciprocal privilege was granted to societies or corporations formed under the laws of the respective countries. Exception was made in the case of money exacted by the Germans, damages caused by French or Belgian troops or military requisitions if compensation for such damages was already provided for by law, and claims involving bonds or other securities. The total amount of the damages to be paid was further made subject to the approval by the Reparations Commission of the aggregate claims against Germany which each government should present.

With the approval of this agreement Belgian subjects in France became entitled to the same advances for agricultural or industrial reconstruction as were accorded to agricultural or industrial sinistrés of French nationality. The same obligation to reëmploy the indemnity, however, was imposed in the one case as in the other.

In April, 1920, the right to indemnity for war damages was extended to foreigners in Alsace and Lorraine.

The distribution of coal received from Germany was intrusted in November, 1919, to a bureau of the then Ministry of Industrial Reconstitution. The German coal reached France by various routes. Shipments by rail were delivered at the French or Belgian frontiers, the parties to whom the coal was allotted paying the freight and customs charges from the frontier to the point of destination. Direct shipments by river and

canal were made to Paris and the Nord department, the receiver of the coal providing the means of transport. Coal sent down the Rhine and transshipped at Antwerp or Gant was at the cost of the consumer so far as transport from those points was concerned. Coal sent up the Rhine was transshipped at Ludwigshafen, Mannheim, Strasburg, or other points, the government paying the cost of transfer and forwarding the coal to the consumer, subject to freight and customs charges if the shipment was by rail. If inland water routes were used the consumer had to provide the boats. Shipments were also made by sea *via* Rotterdam, either with or without transfer, the consumer finding the necessary boats in either case. In the case of small industries and domestic consumers deliveries were made through groups of importers at different ports.

It will be recalled that the law of war damages provided for the payment of such damages only as were material and direct. By the treaty of Versailles, however, the Allied and Associated powers claimed the right to demand from Germany compensation in full for no less than ten classes of damages of a personal, indirect, or consequential kind. As set forth in Part VIII, Section I, Annex I of the treaty those classes comprise:

1. Damages caused to civilians and their dependent relatives who suffered in their persons or in their life by any acts of war, including in such acts bombardments or other attacks by land, by sea, or by air, together with all their direct consequences or consequences resulting from the war operations of two groups of belligerents, wherever such acts occurred.

2. Damages caused by Germany or its allies to civilians

and their dependents who were victims of acts of cruelty, violence, or bad treatment (including in such acts the effects upon life or health of imprisonment, deportation, internment, evacuation, abandonment on the sea, or forced labor), wherever the acts in question were committed.

3. Damages caused by Germany or its allies, either in their own territory or in territory occupied or invaded, to civil victims of any acts tending to affect the health, working capacity, or honor of such persons or their dependents.

4. Damages caused by any improper treatment of prisoners of war.

5. In the case of damages caused to the peoples of the Allied and Associated powers, the total amount of pensions or similar compensations due to military victims of the war (land, sea, or air forces), whether mutilated, wounded, sick, or invalid, as well as to the persons to whom such victims were the support, are to be calculated for each government, for the purpose of determining the reparations to be paid by Germany, on the basis of the capitalized value, at the date when the treaty goes into effect, of such pensions or compensations according to the scale in force in France at that date.

6. The cost of assistance furnished by the governments of the Allied and Associated powers to prisoners of war, to their families, or to those to whom such persons were the support.

7. Allotments made by the governments of the Allied and Associated powers to the families or dependents of persons who were mobilized or who served in the army, the total amounts due for each year of the war being calculated, for each government, on the basis of the average scale obtaining in France each year for payments of this nature.

8. Damages caused to civilians as a result of the obligation imposed upon them by Germany or its allies to work without just remuneration.

9. Damages affecting any property, wherever situated, belonging to one of the Allied and Associated powers or to persons living within their jurisdiction (military or naval works or material excepted) which has been carried away, seized, injured, or destroyed by the acts of Germany and its allies on land or sea or in the air, together with all

damages following directly from hostilities or any operations of war.

10. Damages caused to the civil population by impositions, fines, or similar exactions of Germany or its allies.

In March, 1920, an interministerial committee of reparations was created to prepare the claims arising under these several heads. The president of the committee was the French representative on the Reparations Commission. Within each ministry a special reparations service was organized to facilitate the work. The aggregate of these claims eventually submitted to the Reparations Commission was 77,833,987,076 francs, or more than one-third of the total claims presented. The items comprised 60,045,690,000 francs for military pensions and similar compensations, 12,936,956,824 francs for allocations to families of persons mobilized, 514,465,000 francs for civil pensions, 1,869,230,000 francs for the improper treatment of civilians and prisoners of war, 976,906,000 francs for aid furnished to prisoners of war and their families, 223,123,313 francs for labor without just remuneration, and 1,267,-615,939 francs for fines or exactions of various kinds.

Considerable sums, the aggregate amount of which cannot as yet be stated, were due to communes and departments on account of sales of abandoned property, requisitions, and evacuations made by or under the orders of the Allied forces in France. Such of these amounts as were paid through the British Claims Commission were regularly credited to the communes or departments concerned. In the spring of 1918 the British military authorities were authorized to sell to soldiers, through canteens, grocery supplies which had

been abandoned in evacuated villages. The proceeds of these sales were paid to the communes through a financial office at Abbeville, the distribution to individual claimants being made by the mayors. In addition to sales, considerable quantities of food supplies and miscellaneous articles were evacuated by military order; the settlement of these claims through British or French offices began at the end of December, 1918. Cattle evacuated in the spring of 1918 were turned over to food commissions, which purchased or requisitioned them, the proceeds being credited to the communes if the individual owners were unknown. In case of disputes between the French local authorities or sinistrés and the British Claims Commission, payment was made by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions in accordance with the decision of a tribunal or an order of the Council of State.

The amounts receivable from American sources covered requisitions, rental and other expenses of camps, accidents, and miscellaneous damages. Payments for the lodging of troops were made through a disbursing officer to the treasurer (*receveur municipal*) of each commune, who distributed them to individual claimants; other payments were made individually, the mayor acting as the intermediary. Payments made after December 1, 1919, were credited to the prefects wherever the claims were to be classed as war damages; claims for furniture and various kinds of equipment, however, continued to be settled directly by the American quartermaster.

Claims of all kinds to indemnity on account of acts of Portuguese troops were, as a rule, paid by the British

military authorities, subject to reimbursement by Portugal. By an agreement concluded between France and Portugal on April 27, 1918, a Portuguese claims commission was created, but it was presently dissolved and the matter of claims intrusted to the Portuguese military attaché at Paris. Claims against Belgium and Italy were left to be adjusted between the prefects and the diplomatic representatives of those countries at Paris.

A slight controversy developed in 1921 over the claims of certain sinistrés to damages caused by the establishment, before the armistice, of camps at which stocks of war material were assembled. In a number of cases, officials of the departments refused to transmit to the cantonal commissions these demands for indemnity, on the ground that since the control and disposition of the stocks had been turned over to the bureau of industrial reconstruction, the demands in question should be submitted to that office. An appeal to the Minister of the Liberated Regions resulted in the issuance of directions, on August 19, to the prefects to transmit the papers, the cantonal commissions and not the departmental officials having the sole right to decide as to what were or what were not proper claims. As the final date for the filing of claims had already been fixed at August 1, the penalty was waived in the case of the sinistrés whose papers had been held back.

The law of August 6, 1917, creating the office of industrial reconstitution and appropriating 250,000,000 francs for the purchase of materials, tools, etc., for industrial needs, contemplated purchases in foreign countries as well as in France. In July, 1920, prac-

tically all of the wartime restrictions upon importation were removed. In order to facilitate the purchase of material for industrial reconstruction in Germany and the occupied territory along the Rhine, a joint office of the Central Purchasing Agency (Comptoir Central d'Achats) and the service of industrial reconstruction was opened at Wiesbaden. This bureau undertook to furnish industrial sinistrés with information regarding the possibilities of German manufacture, conditions of sale and delivery, and similar matters; to establish relations with German industrial groups, chambers of commerce, syndicates, etc., and in general to facilitate the operations of selection, purchase, transport, and payment of customs duties. Arrangements were made for payments for purchases through a French bank at Wiesbaden, the necessary supply of German marks being provided by the Ministry of Finance. The office of industrial reconstitution also undertook to provide safe-conducts for industrial sinistrés who desired to visit the occupied parts of Germany, and to facilitate the entrance into France of German mechanics needed for the installation of German machinery.

Purchases in England or the United States for purposes of industrial reconstruction were made through the Central Purchasing Agency at Paris or the Regional Agency at Lille. Industrial products imported from the free zones of Gex and Savoie were subject to special regulation.

The multiplication of financial transactions arising under the treaty of peace led in August, 1920, to the issuance of a decree centralizing the execution of all the financial provisions of the treaty in the hands of

the Minister of Finance. Included in this was the preparation, in connection with the other ministries concerned, of the claims against Germany to be laid before the Reparations Commission.

The supervision of the large number of foreign laborers and workmen in France, the larger proportion of whom were employed in the liberated regions, was an international problem of a different character. The thousands of laborers who had been brought in during the war from Italy, Portugal, China, and other countries had rendered invaluable service, and many of them continued to be employed after the armistice, as indeed they had been employed before, in the work of reconstruction. A considerable number of skilled workmen and foremen, principally from Belgium, had also been employed in industrial centers. The presence of these foreign laborers, however, aroused considerable opposition notwithstanding the general labor shortage, while the crowded and unsanitary conditions in which many of them lived were dangerous to morals and to public health.

In November, 1920, the existing regulations regarding admission, identity cards, and supervision were revised, and an effort was made to replace foreign labor with French labor wherever possible. Instructions issued by the office of industrial reconstruction called the attention of employers to the fact that foreign workmen were not to be employed if satisfactory French workmen could be had, and required applications for foreign labor to be addressed to the Minister of Labor at Paris. It was further pointed out that foreign workmen were to receive the same treatment

as French workmen, and that the rates of wages should be the same as were normally paid to French workmen in the same locality.

On September 3, 1919, a convention was concluded between France and Poland for the regulation of immigration and emigration between the two countries. The nationals of each country were accorded the right to seek work in the other, and they might be recruited where considerable numbers of laborers were required. They were guaranteed the same rates of wages as were paid for similar work to nationals of the country in which they were employed, and equal protection under labor laws, including compensation for accidents. If later agreements with other countries granted more advantageous labor conditions, the same advantages were to be enjoyed reciprocally by French and Polish subjects. No special authorization was required in the case of the migration of individual laborers, and those who had not previously been engaged by employers were to enjoy upon arrival the facilities of government immigration stations and employment bureaus while seeking work. In case of an oversupply of labor in a particular industry or locality, notice of the fact was to be given.

The recruitment of laborers was subjected to various restrictions intended primarily to protect the labor supply and the economic development of the two countries. A joint commission sitting alternately at Paris and Warsaw was given general oversight of the matter, the particular arrangements in France being intrusted to the supervision of the National Employment Bureau and in Poland to the National Bureau

of Employment and the Protection of Emigrants. In addition, the right was reserved to accept or reject emigrants collectively recruited before their departure from the country, and to enforce suitable conditions regarding sanitation and transport.

The convention was to continue in force for a year, subject to renewal from year to year if three months' notice of abrogation was not given. It did not in practice add greatly to the labor supply of the invaded departments, political and military conditions in Poland preventing the recruitment of any large number of laborers. In September a labor convention of substantially similar tenor was concluded between France and Italy.[1]

On July 12, 1920, the German delegates to the conference at Spa submitted to the conference an elaborate plan for the reconstruction of the devastated regions of all countries affected by the war. The plan contemplated the formation of an international syndicate of contractors which should undertake, in agreement with the governments immediately interested, the clearing (*déblaiement*) of the devastated areas, the restoration of industrial and agricultural establishments and railways, and the provision of new houses for the population. The necessary labor would be drawn from the allied countries and Germany, and the work of reconstruction was to be carried on under commercial and not under bureaucratic methods, without excessive profits, and on a basis of equal collaboration of em-

[1] The journal *Le Bâtiment* for November 24, 1921, in urging that preparations be made for the effective employment of large numbers of Italian laborers who were expected, stated that work to the amount of about 1,500,000,000 francs had been reserved for Italians.

ployers and workmen. One of the aims of the proposal, in addition to securing the speedy and systematic rebuilding of devastated territory by international effort, was to enable Germany to discharge a part of its indemnity obligations by furnishing labor and materials.[1]

At the time when this proposal was submitted no agreement had yet been reached by the Supreme Council regarding the reparation terms to be demanded of Germany. That fact, together with the generally hostile attitude of the conference toward Germany and doubt of the sincerity of German intentions, doomed the plan to rejection without any serious consideration. The suggestion of allowing Germany to share directly in the reconstruction of the devastated departments, however, had been launched, and it was not thereafter absent from either official or public discussion of the reconstruction problem.

The decision of the Supreme Council regarding reparations—a decision destined to undergo modification later and to provoke heated controversy in French political circles—was not reached until January 29, 1921, the total of reparations then demanded being fixed at £11,300,000,000, payable in installments over forty-two years. At a series of conferences of international labor organizations, held at Amsterdam in March and April, resolutions were adopted criticizing the allied governments for over-emphasizing the financial side of reparations, and urging that Germany should be made to contribute to the reconstruction of devastated areas by itself performing a substantial part of the work of restoration.

[1] The text of the proposal is in the Paris *Temps*, July 13, 1920.

On April 22, in a note to the British government, Germany renewed its proposal for the reconstruction of the devastated territories. The bearing of this proposal upon the agreement later concluded at Wiesbaden is so important that the text may properly be given practically in full[1]:

"Germany is absolutely persuaded that it is unavoidably necessary for the purpose of restoring economic peace throughout the world that the territories devastated through the war should be reconstructed and restored. Until this is done there is danger that feelings of hate will continue to exist among the nations concerned.

"Germany, therefore, declares herself once more entirely willing to coöperate in this reconstruction with all the means and strength at her disposal, and to take into account in regard thereto, in every individual case, each wish of the powers concerned as far as possible.

"With regard to the method of accomplishing reconstruction the German government, while maintaining the proposals made by it since 1919, begs to summarize the following possibilities:

"(1) Germany could undertake the reconstruction of specified town localities or villages, or of such specified portions of the territory to be reconstructed as might be connected with each other, taking over the entire course either as a state undertaking or by directing the work of international colonizing and settlement associations. In that event the experience gained by Germany during the reconstruction of devastated territory in East Prussia would be of special assistance. Germany will refrain from explaining this proposal more in detail at present, as the fundamental idea has, up to the present, met with objections on the part of the Allied governments.

"(2) Germany is further willing, apart from the method of settlement suggested under Section 1, to place at the disposal of the Allied governments immediately all assistance for the reconstruction of the devastated regions in

[1] The text which follows is that which was given to the press at London on April 22. The numerous infelicities of translation have not been removed.

northern France and Belgium. The German industries have resolved to offer the following services: To undertake at once in the devastated territories, on being informed of the detailed wishes of the Allied governments, the work of clearing the ground and of afforestation; to repair and rebuild brickwork, and also to build works for the production of chalk, plaster, cement, etc., in territories to be reconstructed; to deliver on request machinery and appliances connected with the obtaining and preparation of raw materials for buildings in existence on the spot and, in addition to this, to deliver German building materials and requisites from Germany; to make arrangements that all appliances and machinery required for building purposes not existing in the reconstruction territory should be obtained from Germany if necessary, including such building materials as are requisite for first installation; to begin immediately with a plan for building construction of all kinds at least 25,000 wooden houses (dwelling houses), these to be erected before the beginning of the cold season, with a view to coping with the extraordinary housing shortage in the devastated districts. In addition, provision of fittings—for example, furniture, stoves, etc.—and the execution of deep and shallow excavations of all kinds, according to plans and under control of the French authorities.

"Whether this construction is to be carried out by contract of the French or German government, by public contract or private, or by means of all three methods, is to be decided according to the wishes of the Allied governments.

"The German government is prepared, on the basis of this proposal, to enter into arrangements with German building laborers' organizations, also organizations of foremen and officials, and guarantees that members of these organizations are ready by their labor to coöperate in the reconstruction of the devastated districts."

After specifying the steps which Germany is prepared to take in aid of the speedy restoration of the houses and real property that have been destroyed, the note continues:

"The government is ready to take over the entire cost of such buildings as far as it can be made in paper marks, to be reckoned against the reparations account, while payment of expenditure which has to be met in foreign currency is reserved for further arrangement. Should the Allied governments desire the coöperation of the German government in the work of reconstruction to be given in any other form than that proposed, the German government is prepared thoroughly and conscientiously to examine any suggestions made by the Allies and any proposal which may be made, and to consider them with a view to coöperation in the work of reconstruction corresponding to the wishes of the Allies.

"The German government requests the Allied governments to initiate as quickly as possible the necessary discussions concerning the details of the arrangements to be arrived at."

On the same day on which the text of the German proposal was made public in London, a meeting at Paris of delegates from the devastated departments, held under the auspices of the General Labor Confederation (Confédération Générale du Travail), adopted resolutions calling for German coöperation in reconstruction through the supply of materials and labor, and creating a committee of forty-eight members, four from each department, to take up the whole question of reconstruction with the government. A day or two later the German government, in its counter-proposals regarding reparations, again affirmed its willingness to undertake the reconstruction of designated towns, villages, and hamlets, or to collaborate in reconstruction by furnishing at the cost of Germany labor, materials, and resources, "or in any other manner acceptable to the Allies."

Notwithstanding the fact that no formal agreement

on the subject was concluded with Germany until October, negotiations looking to German coöperation were early undertaken. On May 28 the Minister of the Liberated Regions, M. Loucheur, presided at a meeting of French and German experts at Paris at which plans for the erection in the invaded departments of 25,000 houses made in Germany, at an estimated cost of 350,000,000 francs, were discussed. The project called for a uniform type of house with double walls of concrete plaster, the intervening space being packed with compressed peat. The roofs, of slate or tile, were to be provided locally; all of the other material and the labor for construction were to be furnished by Germany. It was announced that the models and specifications submitted were entirely satisfactory and that the houses would be attractive, comfortable, and durable.

At a conference at Wiesbaden, on June 13, between M. Loucheur and Dr. Walter Rathenau, the German Minister of Reconstruction, and at a later conference at the end of August in which French and German experts participated, the terms of an accord were fully discussed. The final agreement, signed by the two ministers at Wiesbaden on October 6, is an elaborate and technical document many of whose provisions relate rather to the general subject of reparations than to the particular question of reconstruction.[1] Briefly stated, the agreement provided for the creation in Germany of a private organization through which the delivery of materials to French sinistrés is to be

[1] The text of the agreement is in *L'Europe Nouvelle* (Paris), October 15.

effected, and for the formation in France of groups or organizations of sinistrés through which requests for such materials are to be made. The materials so furnished are to be used exclusively for the reconstitution of the devastated departments. The value of the materials delivered is not to exceed 7,000,000,000 gold marks for the period from October 1, 1921, to May 1, 1926, the materials being paid for by France, until 1926, to an amount not exceeding 1,000,000,000 gold marks a year, in the form of a credit on the indemnity payments due from Germany, and after 1926 in ten annual installments. No obligation, however, is imposed upon the French sinistrés to purchase materials from Germany if they prefer to obtain them elsewhere.

The announcement of this agreement precipitated a lively discussion in the French press and in Parliament. It was urged that payment in kind rather than in money was contrary to the provisions of the treaty of Versailles, that French industry would suffer from large importations of German goods, and that the admission of German manufactures and German workmen would result in a temporary German colonization of a region which the German armies had only lately ravaged. On the whole, however, the Wiesbaden accord was well received. Payments in kind were, after all, equivalent to payments in money if prices were fair; and since it was doubtful if Germany would be able to pay in money all that the treaty had demanded, it was good policy to accept partial payment in goods. Moreover, the end to be kept in view was the restoration of the devastated regions, and if German payments in kind

would help to speed that process it was hard to see why they should not be welcomed.

On the other hand the hostile attitude of the British government, which appears to have resented the independent action of France, brought the Wiesbaden agreement into the field of international controversy from which, at the time when this chapter was written, it had not yet emerged. The Reparations Commission, to whom the agreement was submitted, approved the general principle of payment in goods and services, but referred to the governments represented on the Commission the consideration of a number of points in which the agreement appeared to involve a departure from the provisions of the Versailles treaty.

The conclusion of the Wiesbaden agreement was shortly followed by a proposal, submitted jointly by one of the affiliated organizations of the General Labor Confederation and a corresponding organization of German technicians and industrials, for the reconstruction of a group of eleven villages in the cantons of Péronne and Chaulnes in the department of the Somme. All of the villages had been totally destroyed. It was proposed that the rebuilding of the villages, which before the war numbered 3,740 inhabitants and 750 houses, should conform to plans drawn up by the sinistrés with the approval of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions; but the labor and material, it was understood, would be provided by Germany. The estimate called for 2,500 workmen, with which force it was believed that the entire undertaking could be completed in a year. The cost would be charged to the German indemnity under the Wiesbaden agreement, the sinis-

trés of course surrendering their claims to war damages for so much of their property as was restored.

On November 2 a delegation from the German organization visited the region, and subsequently conferred at Paris with M. Loucheur, with representatives of the General Labor Confederation, and with a number of officials. In spite, however, of the approval with which the proposed undertaking was received, the fear was expressed that the presence of a large body of German workmen might be resented by the French population. The interparliamentary group of senators and deputies from the invaded departments urged that proper precautions be taken at this point. There was general agreement that strict police regulations ought to be enforced, and that the Germans should not be allowed to circulate outside of the region in which they worked. The Minister of the Liberated Regions accordingly deferred his decision until the views of the sinistrés could be learned. In December the inhabitants of the twelve communes, by a slight majority, expressed an opinion adverse to the employment of German labor. The impartiality of the inquiry, which was held under the direction of the prefect, was questioned in the press, but in view of the decision no further action in the matter was taken for the time being.

On November 30 the attention of the Minister of the Liberated Regions was called to the lamentable condition of a group of communes in the region of the Chemin des Dames, the reconstruction of which had thus far been wholly neglected. In response to this appeal M. Loucheur stated that if the Wiesbaden proposal was not accepted by the German government

within fifteen days,[1] he would place the work of rebuilding the villages in the hands of Paris industrials who would use German material and German wooden houses and employ Italian labor, and that the work of restoration would be pushed with the least possible delay.

[1] It had not yet been accepted by the French government.

CHAPTER XV

COMMUNITY INTERESTS AND TOWN PLANNING

What has been said in the preceding chapters has had to do with the large divisions into which the work of reconstruction naturally falls. It was inevitable that the restoration of transport, industry, mines, and agriculture, and to a lesser degree of forests and monuments, should not only have absorbed the larger part of the money and the greater share of the effort devoted to the rehabilitation of the invaded departments, but that it should also embody the nearest approach to a consistent and completed program. The restoration of normal social conditions in the devastated area, however, involved numerous questions only incidentally connected with the larger fields whose lines have thus far been traced. Sanitation, medical service, schools, and child life, for example, were for the people as a whole hardly less important than the reconstruction of factories and farms or the restoration of railways and telegraphs. It is the work of reconstruction in these incidental and somewhat unrelated fields that has now to be examined.

Immediately following the conclusion of the armistice agreement of November 11, 1918, the government turned its attention to the question of public health in the liberated departments. A circular of November 30, issued jointly by the ministers of the Interior and

of the Liberated Regions, called the attention of the prefects to the supreme importance of reconstituting medical and pharmaceutical service, hospitals, and local sanitation. With a view to centralizing in the hands of the prefects the numerous requests for medical service which hitherto had been presented to the military authorities, and to facilitating the return of doctors and pharmacists, the prefects were directed to draw up general plans showing the medical needs of the several departments. In the meantime, until civilian practitioners returned, medical relief would continue to be given by the army. Local hospitals, if capable of repair, were to be put in condition; if hospitals had been destroyed, barraques or other suitable buildings were to be used. The local service of sanitary inspection was also to be resumed as rapidly as possible. To insure proper compliance with these requests the director of the Pasteur Institute at Lille, Dr. Calmette, was appointed a special commissioner. In March, 1919, detailed monthly reports of the number and occupations of the returning population were called for as a basis for determining allowances to be made to doctors and pharmacists who had resumed practice.

Down to July 1, 1919, medical relief stations (*postes de secours*) had been established to the number of 44 in the Aisne, 42 in the Ardennes, 26 in the Marne, 19 in the Meuse, 13 in Meurthe-et-Moselle, 26 in the Nord, 19 in the Oise, 22 in the Pas-de-Calais, 20 in the Somme, and 5 in the Vosges. More than 800,000 articles of clothing had been furnished by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions, at a cost of over 16,000,000

francs, while the budgets had carried credits of 27,300,000 francs for 1918 and 172,085,374 francs for the first six months of 1919 for purposes of temporary relief.

The physical condition of the children in some of the departments was alarming. In June, 1919, in an article in the Paris *Figaro*, Dr. Calmette reported that at Lille, where the population had suffered more than anywhere else from want of food, sixty-five per cent. of the children in most of the schools were tuberculous. To deal with this situation a great sanitary camp was established at Camiers, between Etaples and Boulogne, close to the Channel, where an English military hospital had been maintained during the war. The camp, purchased from the British military authorities, comprised some three hundred well-built barraques with disinfection apparatus, many separate sleeping rooms, baths, play rooms, a moving-picture hall, and electric light. The capacity of the camp was about six thousand, and beginning with July 14 special trains carried five hundred tuberculous children twice a week from the regions of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing to Camiers. The personnel, recruited principally from teachers in the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais, included instructors in singing and the playing of games, many of the latter being Americans. In 1920, when the camp was reopened, provision was made for 6,000 girls and 6,000 boys for periods of two months each. In 1921 5,400 girls and 6,000 boys enjoyed the benefits of the camp.

In September, 1920, a committee in Alsace arranged a three weeks' outing for six hundred children from

the Nord, the Pas-de-Calais, the Somme, the Aisne, and the Marne. The children were received at the St. Louis railway station by a representative of the French government, the mayors of the communes of the canton, and a band, and were distributed among families which had competed for the honor of entertaining them. For many of the poorer children clothing was provided by their Alsacian hosts.

The important part which women had taken from the beginning of the war in works of relief, and the continuance of such work in many cases after the armistice, led in November, 1919, to the appointment by the Minister of the Liberated Regions of women inspectors for the invaded departments. In addition to helping in a general way the betterment of physical and moral conditions affecting women, the inspectors were charged with the organization and supervision of the visiting nurses who had been appointed, at the instance of Dr. Calmette, to safeguard the health of children, and who had opened a number of dispensaries and medical relief stations. Training courses for nurses, already organized at Paris, included maternity nursing, the care and feeding of children, children's diseases, school hygiene, and physical education.

The work of these visiting nurses, often done under trying conditions and with inadequate equipment, merits far more praise than it has received. At Follembray, in the Aisne, for example, an outbreak of typhoid of which three cases had already developed was stopped by the prompt action of a nurse. Seven dispensaries had been opened in the Aisne by the summer of 1920, and the medical inspection of school children was under

way at Laon, St. Quentin, and La Capelle. At Pontfaverger, in the Marne, the nurses held a daily medical and surgical clinic, took charge of the children out of school hours, and prepared a children's Christmas tree. At the industrial centers of Briey and Longwy, in Meurthe-et-Moselle, they carried on a service of medical inspection of schools which had been established by the prefect. The first medical relief post in the Ardennes was opened at Revin; on the first day twenty-six mothers brought their babies for the nurses' inspection. At Rocroi, where the resident doctor and his father died of diphtheria which the doctor had contracted from a patient, the nurses cared successfully for the other members of the family and buried the dead. The dispensaries opened at Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing, Cambrai, Le Cateau, and Caudry, all important industrial centers, rendered inestimable service to the sick and the victims of accidents. An important station was opened at St. Mihiel, an open-air school was established at Clermont-en-Argonne, and school inspection was instituted at Montmedy and Verdun.

In addition to medical service of various kinds, the nurses were often placed in charge of local cantines opened by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions for the general use of the community, and of food stations installed in public schools for the benefit of children who were underfed. One of the most attractive of the cantines was established at Lille in February, 1920, in a location convenient for the employees of business houses. Restaurants for men and women served meals at a cost of 2.25 francs; two daintily furnished rest rooms offered writing facilities and illustrated journals;

and fêtes organized by the nurses brought hundreds of children from the schools.

Medical inspection of schools and school children in the devastated departments was all the more necessary because of the physical condition of school buildings. While the schools themselves have been everywhere reëstablished, no public school buildings that were destroyed have yet been rebuilt and only a few of those that were injured have been completely restored. Here and there private philanthropy or corporation enterprise has presented to a community a new and attractive school building, but with rare exceptions the schools throughout the invaded regions are still housed in wooden barraques or temporary structures or in old buildings but partially repaired. Most of the school buildings are unsightly, poorly furnished, and with only primitive sanitary conveniences. The same thing is true in general of the public buildings of communes and departments and the offices of the postal, telegraph, and telephone services. In November, 1921, the organization of the mayors of the devastated regions, whose plan for a joint loan for reconstruction has already been mentioned, expressed the opinion that the proceeds of the loan should be used in the first instance for the restoration of schools and hospitals. The loan itself, however, has not yet been issued.[1]

Reference has already been made to the large number of wells that were destroyed during the war, and

[1] A circular to the prefects, issued on January 3, 1922, by the ministers of Public Instruction and Fine Arts and of the Liberated Regions, modified somewhat the administrative formalities with a view to facilitating the restoration of school buildings.

to the necessity of protecting the inhabitants of the invaded departments from the menace of polluted drinking water. One of the interesting experiments of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions was the establishment of traveling laboratories for the analysis of water. The plan, adapted from the practice of the British army, comprised the establishment in each department of a laboratory which could be moved from place to place, samples of water for analysis being collected by automobile from near-by localities and the results of the analysis sent to the technical services of the departments for their guidance in cleaning or reconstituting the water supply. Thanks in large part to the care which was taken, by this and other means, to insure the purity of water for drinking and culinary purposes, a war which was attended by unprecedented pollution of the soil was not followed by any important outbreak of disease.

Numerous accidents, some of them fatal, due to the explosion of munitions left in the ground or assembled at dumps led to urgent appeals to the inhabitants to use reasonable care and intelligence, and to report promptly to the mayor any munitions found. The *Bulletin of the Liberated Regions,* in one of its earliest issues, laid down the following rules, among others, some of them quite as applicable to tourists and casual visitors to-day as they were to the population to which they were addressed:

"Never touch munitions.

"In particular, do not smoke or throw away matches near a munitions dump.

"Give up looking for souvenirs. When you take a cart-

ridge shell you scatter the powder on the ground. The train of powder which you make in that way will be set on fire by a passing auto and will explode the dump.

"Do not touch grenades. They are often ready to go off at the slightest shock, and they will explode in your hands. Don't fish for grenades.

"Do not look for fuses to make fireworks. Some of them go off of themselves. You will always end by dropping some of them on a pile of munitions and exploding it.

"If you find any kind of a device in the field, do not touch it. Plant a stick beside it so that you can find it again, and give notice.

"If you are afraid of munitions too close to your house, or if an explosion has broken your windows, inform the mayor of your commune. He will know the address of the proper military authority, who will at once send an officer to reassure you and, if necessary, workmen to repair damages.[1]

"If the workmen are at work in your commune, don't go to watch them work. There is always too much of a crowd about those who are handling munitions.

"Do not have an exaggerated fear of gas shells. They are inoffensive in small quantities, they do not all explode at once, and they contain too little gas to hurt you at a distance. Do not handle them, however, because some of them secrete a corrosive fluid which may burn you.

"Be your own police. If no one ever touches munitions, you may be sure that they will not go off of themselves."

A law of May 1, 1921, extended to third parties (*i. e.*, persons not employers or workmen) the right to reparation for injuries to person or property caused by explosion, fire, the emanation of noxious or poisonous gases, etc., in munitions depots or arsenals, or while munitions were in transit, or in the case of munitions which had been abandoned and left without care. The benefits of the law were made retroactive, but the state reserved the right, whether the injuries in question

[1] Condensed from the original.

were suffered before or after the adoption of the law, to prosecute the persons responsible for the accidents.

In spite of all the progress made in the restoration of the invaded departments, many persons continued to be in need of government relief. As late as August, 1921, the ministers of the Liberated Regions and of the Interior found it necessary to instruct the prefects as to their powers and duties in the matter, and to remind them that the government had not ceased to interest itself in the needs of refugees. The prefects were directed to give notice that indoor relief, including medical attendance, was available under existing laws for needy persons; and while the requirements of law were to be complied with, a generous interpretation was to be given in all cases and prompt action was expected. Among the special cases to which relief was to be extended were those of agricultural sinistrés whose land was not yet in a position to be worked, and of sinistrés who because of age or infirmity were unable to resume their former occupation or rebuild their properties. On the other hand, since the system of allocations to refugees as such must in the nature of the case cease before long, the prefects were urged to hasten as much as possible the return of refugees to their homes.

The budget commission of 1921, in the report to which extended reference has been made in a previous chapter, raised the question as to whether certain new sanitary regulations which by law had been made applicable to buildings erected in the devastated departments were not in many respects excessively burdensome to the sinistrés, and the more because the

requirements had not in fact been insisted upon in other parts of France. In October, 1921, in a circular to the prefects, the Minister of the Liberated Regions pointed out that the regulations in question were to be interpreted with generosity and common sense, that they were not to be treated as if they were "an intangible formula or an immutable rite," and that the spirit rather than the letter of the law was to be regarded. An intelligent application of the sanitary building regulations which obtained in every commune before the war, and which were not a dead letter now, would constitute a sufficient conformity to the law. Since, however, the building permits which by law were required to be issued by the mayors could not in practice be issued without great delay because of the sanitary requirements, the prefects were directed to place at the disposal of the mayors a number of competent assistants sufficient to hasten the process, "in order that it might not be said that the regions which have suffered from the war have not been treated, in the matter of sanitary regulations, like the rest of France."

In August, 1920, the eight-hour law of April 23, 1919, was extended to the building industry and other public works in the devastated departments. The effect of the law upon the reconstitution of the mining industry has already been referred to. While the law met the wishes of organized labor and placed the work of reconstruction, so far as hours of labor were concerned, upon the same basis as that of industrial occupations in other parts of France, many persons to whom the delays of reconstruction have particularly appealed have not ceased to criticize the extension of the law to the invaded departments as unwise. The operation

of the law has undoubtedly decreased the average daily production of labor, but it can hardly be said to have checked the progress of reconstruction as a whole. In general, the arguments for or against an eight-hour day do not appear to have any essentially different force in such a situation as prevails in the invaded departments than they have elsewhere. The cardinal weakness of the labor situation is the lack of labor, not the shortness of the working day.

A somewhat peculiar problem of war damages was presented in the case of priests who, having in their charge the furnishings or other personal property of churches, claimed indemnity for such of the property as had been destroyed, injured, or carried off. Under the separation laws all church property was inventoried, and such of it as was not turned over to local parish societies, which were required to be formed if the legal right to the parish property was to be retained, became the property of the commune or department. Notice was accordingly given by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions that where the personal property for which claims to indemnity were presented by priests was in fact the property of a religious society, it was the society and not the priest that must make the claim; while if the property in question did not appear in the inventory made under the separation law of 1905, it would be presumed to belong to the commune or department. In the latter case it would be subject to indemnity like other communal or departmental property.

Many troublesome questions were presented by the necessity of relocating in many instances the boundaries of private properties and public roads or streets,

and by the desire of a good many communities to take advantage of this necessity to widen or straighten streets and improve or increase open spaces. Various laws and decrees authorized the condemnation of private property for the purpose of making new alignments, the owners of course receiving compensation as a part of their war damages. Since, however, the reconstruction of buildings could not proceed until boundary lines had been determined, any delay in settling questions of alignment was likely to hold up indefinitely rebuilding plans otherwise complete. In a very large number of cases, particularly in large towns where improvements were contemplated and in small villages that had been completely destroyed, this result actually happened. Part of the responsibility undoubtedly attaches to the technical services of the communes and departments, which appear to have been often inexcusably slow in running lines even where no changes of alignment were proposed. The larger measure of responsibility, however, falls upon the state, which has not yet given to the communes the financial aid necessary to enable them to put into effect the comprehensive plans of reconstruction which, under a new town planning law, they are required to draw up.[1]

The subject of town planning, in the sense in which the term is familiar in England and the United States, had never before the war aroused much interest in France. Aside from the natural conservatism of an old country thickly dotted with picturesque communi-

[1] It has been suggested that the difficulty might be overcome by expropriation by the state, under the law of war damages, of the property in question, followed by cession by the state to the communes. Under this plan the determination of damages would follow the regular procedure without delaying the adoption of plans of alignment (*Journal des Régions Libérées,* August 14, 1921).

ties and rich in history and tradition, there is in France a pronounced aversion to the geometrical regularity and architectural sameness which characterize many American cities, and which reach the lowest depths of dreariness in many American and English factory towns. Moreover, most of the larger towns of France, as in all old countries, have grown by comparatively slow accretions while many small towns have hardly grown at all, so that with the exception of Paris, where the methodical laying out of various quarters has from time to time occurred, the question of replanning a town as a whole has not been a practical issue.

Early in the war, however, considerable interest was aroused by the suggestion that the general principles of town planning might well be applied in the reconstruction of the devastated towns of the invaded departments. A number of architects and others expressed the opinion that it ought to be possible, without doing violence to the essential character of domestic or public architecture or the time-honored spirit of French community life, to give to the new towns and villages improved general plans, wider and straighter streets, more open spaces, more commodious and artistic public buildings, and better drainage and water supply. Several organizations, among them an energetic society known as La Renaissance des Cités, gave their support to the proposal, and a considerable literature of books, magazine articles, and reports discussed the question in its various aspects.[1]

Largely as a result of this agitation and discussion

[1] Reference may be made particularly to A. R. Agache, *Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites* (1915); A. Godin, *La réparation des maisons endommagées par la guerre* (1916); J. M. Auburtin and H. Blanchard, *La cité de demain dans les régions dévastées* (1917);

the Parliament, on March 14, 1919, while the law of war damages was still under consideration, adopted a town planning law.[1] By the terms of the law every city of 10,000 inhabitants or over was required to draw up within three years, at the expense of the state, a comprehensive plan for the rearrangement of its streets, squares, public gardens, playgrounds, and other open spaces, together with a program of restrictions to be imposed in such matters as public health, the height of buildings, drainage, garbage disposal, etc. Similar requirements were made of towns of from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants attaining a certain percentage of population growth from one census to another, of certain health or pleasure resorts having large temporary populations at certain seasons, and of workingmen's quarters (*cités*) erected by corporations or individuals. The preparation of plans was specifically required in the case of towns or villages of any size that had been destroyed. To supervise the execution of the law a special commission was created within the Ministry of the Interior, together with local commissions in each department. The departmental commissions were to give hearings to representatives of architectural, historical, commercial, or other societies interested, to representatives of transportation companies, and to the mayors of communes. Once the plan was adopted, all building operations were required to conform to it, permission to build being given by the mayor.

Léon Rosenthal, *Villes et villages français après la guerre* (1918); A. Duchêne, *Pour la reconstruction des cités industrielles* (1919). There is an American committee of La Renaissance des Cités, with headquarters at Boston.

[1] See Appendix A.

The law of 1919 was not, indeed, the first attempt of the government to deal with town planning. An earlier law of 1884 had required municipalities, at their own expense, to draw up comprehensive plans of street lines and levels; it did not, however, contemplate the possible extension of the communal limits and in fact had remained a dead letter. In 1916 the special service which had been organized within the Ministry of the Interior to aid in the reconstruction of dwellings had reminded the prefects that the reconstruction of buildings ought not to be looked at solely from the point of view of each structure as an isolated unit, but that the effect of the buildings taken as a whole was also to be considered. The law of 1919, however, made binding upon the devastated communes, as well as upon all other communes in France, what hitherto had only been recommended, and at the same time relieved the communes of the initial expense by making the cost of the plans a state charge.

The enforcement of the law, on the other hand, was not easy. A circular of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions issued on June 23, 1921, called the attention of the prefects to the "inadmissible slowness" with which the preparation of plans for the reconstruction of devastated towns was proceeding, and to the necessity of radical changes of method if the work was to be completed by March 14, 1922, the limit of time set by the law. One reason for the delay, apparently, was fear of the possible expense involved. The communes, as has been said, had been given the right to condemn private property for public purposes, and the owner was of course entitled to compensation for such portion of his property, whether land or buildings, as

was taken. How much of the property so acquired, however, would be paid for by the state, especially if changes of a large sort were made, and how much would have to be paid for by the municipality was not clear. The circular of June 23, while urging haste, gave notice that changes in street lines were to be reduced to a minimum, and that the expense of any modifications not strictly necessary would have to be borne by the municipalities and would not be met by state subventions. A law of July 29, intended to facilitate the acquisition of buildings by the communes, held out the prospect of some financial relief, but it came late.

Thanks to the initiative of societies and corporations, however, some notable progress was made. The Renaissance des Cités aided more than two hundred towns to prepare their plans, at the same time carrying on an extensive educational campaign. Plans were made for rebuilding as a model the village of Pinon, in the Aisne, which had been completely destroyed. The most important single achievement was the adoption by the city of Reims of a comprehensive plan prepared under the direction of Mr. George B. Ford of New York, to whom the town planning movement in France is deeply indebted.[1] Plans of similar comprehensiveness have been accepted for Lille and La Bassée, and a plan for Soissons has been approved by the municipal council. The municipal council of Longwy, following the suggestion of the commission on town planning, has decided to rebuild the upper town

[1] Mr. Ford has recounted some of his experiences in an entertaining article in the *Survey* (New York) for May 7, 1921.

on the original lines, thus preserving the historical ramparts constructed by Vauban.

Some of the most interesting fruits of town planning, however, are to be found in the workingmen's quarters built by industrial corporations and railway companies. While certain of these quarters (*cités*) reproduce the long rows of houses of a uniform type familiar in American and English industrial towns, others, as in the coal-mining concession of Anzin, are charming examples of architecture and arrangement. The new employees' quarter of the Nord railway company at Lille has already been mentioned. The *cité* of the same company at Roye, entered through a broad avenue bordered with lawns and flowers, is laid out in a series of semicircular streets at the center of which is a large open space with a school, an assembly hall, and a covered market. Some twenty-five *cités* of the same modern character and with varied types of domestic architecture have already been built by the Nord company.

While it seems improbable that any large changes will be made in most of the more than three thousand communes upon which the calamity of war fell, the results of the agitation for new and better towns will nevertheless be considerable. The reconstructed towns of devastated France will certainly show better streets, better schools and public buildings, more generous provision of markets and open spaces, and better facilities for public meetings, social gatherings, and recreation than the former towns possessed. There will be better water supply, more general use of electric light, and better drainage. Once the marks of war have

disappeared and economic life has resumed its normal course, it is a safe prediction that few of the communities which are being restored will be less attractive to the eye, as most of them will be more healthful and convenient, than those which the war destroyed. The architectural and historical monuments which were the pride of the north cannot be replaced, and many touches of quaintness and beauty have gone forever, but in every other respect the reconstructed towns and villages will be better places to live in than were those which the war overwhelmed.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONTRIBUTION OF PHILANTHROPY AND SYMPATHY

From the beginning of the war the devastation of the invaded departments and the sufferings of their inhabitants evoked widespread sympathy both in France and abroad, and led to more or less systematic attempts to supplement by private contributions and personal service the aid extended by the government. In spite of the supreme demands which the war made upon the people of France, numerous organizations were formed at Paris and elsewhere for the relief of refugees, the care of children, and the supply of food, clothing, and medical attendance to the needy population still remaining in the war zone. To the efforts of the French societies were presently added those of organizations in other countries, principally in England and the United States, the larger volume of contributions coming naturally from the American and British Red Cross. Many individuals, also, gave liberally of their time and their money for the relief of distress in particular communities. From the nature of the case, however, very little of this philanthropic effort had to do with actual reconstruction, and at the close of the war most of the French and foreign societies either went out of existence or merged their work with that of societies which undertook to supplement directly the reconstruction efforts of the government.

War conditions, joined to the multiplication of societies engaged in various kinds of relief, early made necessary some measure of government regulation. In August, 1917, a special committee was formed under the direction of the interministerial committee on reconstruction for the coördination of public and private relief of all kinds. In November a national office was instituted for the same purpose. With the coöperation of the Ministry of War the status of the different societies and their fields of operation were in a general way determined, uniforms or insignia for members or representatives working in the war zone were prescribed or approved, the transport and distribution of supplies were regulated, and permission was accorded to solicit funds by public appeal. With the exception of the Red Cross, which stood upon a different footing, government supervision was in general extended over all organized relief agencies whether French or foreign.

Of the French societies which have continued their activities since the war for the purpose of aiding in reconstruction, one of the most important, in addition to La Renaissance des Cités already referred to, is Le Foyer des Campagnes. This society, formed in 1918 at Paris and carried on mainly by women, has for its object the social, hygienic, and artistic education of country districts and rural communities. By means of lectures, pamphlets, and public discussion it has sought to interest the state and the local governments in the establishment of community centers, and to train directors for this useful form of community service. Hampered from the beginning by lack of funds, it has

nevertheless succeeded by the aid of state grants and private contributions in establishing *foyers,* or community houses, at Essomes in the Aisne, Ville-en-Tardenois in the Marne, Ressons-sur-Matz and Lassigny in the Oise, and Juniville in the Ardennes, and will shortly open a sixth *foyer* at Tricot in the Oise and a seventh at Dun-sur-Meuse in the Meuse. There are also affiliated *foyers* at Carignan in the Ardennes and Frestoy-Vaux in the Oise, in whose direction the society shares.

Each *foyer* provides a large hall for concerts, public meetings, or plays, a restaurant and billiard room, a library, and ample playgrounds. At Ressons and Juniville shower baths have been installed. Plays, concerts, lectures, and fêtes are given from time to time, there are classes in domestic economy for girls, and in some cases medical clinics are held. Wherever the *foyers* have been established they have become centers for social gatherings and sources of enrichment for the community life. The cost of installing a *foyer* is about 40,000 francs, to which is to be added from 35,000 to 40,000 francs for a demountable frame building where one is purchased, or 100,000 francs if the building is of brick.

The movement for the creation of community centers (*maisons communes*) had from the beginning the hearty support of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions. In April and July, 1919, circulars to the prefects urged the extension of all possible aid to such undertakings. It is through the Ministry of the Liberated Regions that government grants in aid of the Foyer des Campagnes are made.

The Société des Foyers of the Union Franco-Américaine, although principally concerned with the army and navy, has established foyers for civilians at Lille, Laon, Nancy, and other centers and conducted a number of summer camps for children. Until 1921 the society received considerable aid from America, but its funds are now derived almost wholly from French sources. In 1921 it expended over 870,000 francs for all purposes.

Another French society, the Retour au Foyer, organized in 1917, has since its establishment provided complete furnishings for 1,200 homes and distributed more than 15,000 articles of clothing, 18,000 fruit trees, and 17,000 calves; given eighteen milch cows to nursing centers in mining districts; opened two schools for lace making, and assumed, in connection with a subcommittee in The Netherlands, the cost of rebuilding the commune of Eparges.

No data are available upon which to base even an approximate estimate of the financial aid given by French societies and individuals to the devastated departments, but the total amount is undoubtedly very large. On the other hand, it was not to be expected that philanthropic aid would attain in France any such dimensions as would be possible in either England or the United States, partly because the heavy war losses left no class of society untouched, and partly because the government program of reconstruction has been so considerable and comprehensive. Individual and local contributions to the work of restoration, accordingly, have in France a significance far exceeding the money value involved. Some of the

more interesting examples are particularly worth recording.

In October, 1921, the village of Cléry-sur-Somme, near Péronne, which had been totally destroyed in 1916, celebrated its restoration. Thanks to the generosity and energy of M. Maurice Fenaille, a member of the Institute of France and of the Council of National Museums, eighty workingmen's houses have been built, two farms entirely rehabilitated, a group of public buildings comprising a mairie, school, and post office erected, and a water system introduced. The entire cost of the public buildings and of the houses of the poorer sinistrés was borne by M. Fenaille, the indemnities for war damages being left for the benefit of the sinistrés whenever the indemnities should be paid.

Reference has more than once been made to the purpose expressed by the government early in the war of calling upon the other departments for aid in relieving the departments that had been invaded. It does not appear that any such official appeal has ever, since the government declaration, been seriously considered. What was contemplated in 1914, however, has been done with impressive success in another way. In 1920 the Union of French Associations for National Progress, the president of which is M. Raymond Poincaré, former President of the Republic, launched a nation-wide movement for the adoption of devastated communes. In November, 1921, M. Poincaré was able to report that 74 departments, or groups of communes in these departments, had already adopted 1,852 devastated villages, and that 23,000,000 francs had been

subscribed for the purpose by departments, municipalities, or individuals.[1] Fifty-five departments had adopted the full quota of communes assigned to them, and eight had adopted more than half of their quota. Of 2,209 devastated communes which had asked for aid, all but 357 had received it. These gratifying results were the fruit of an active campaign carried on throughout France not merely for the relief of communities in distress, but also for the rebuilding of towns and villages in accordance with plans in which community centers, dispensaries, maternity hospitals, and water supply should find place.

In November the city council of Rouen, after listening to an address by the mayor of Reims on the urgent need of funds for rebuilding in that city, voted 59,000 francs for the construction of four workingmen's houses. A few days later a syndicate of employees of brokerage houses at Paris adopted the village of Ablain-St. Nazaire in the Pas-de-Calais, and forwarded to the mayor a first contribution of 1,000 francs. The commune of Sancy, on the Chemin des Dames, was adopted by the railway employees, the first building to be erected being a combined school and mairie with living quarters for the school-teacher. Thanks to the efforts of the French Colonial Institute, which has itself adopted a commune in the Marne, a contribution of 675,000 francs was voted for 1922 by

[1] It is interesting to note that the Rhône department, in which Lyons is situated, had adopted 42 communes and contributed 2,473,000 francs, while the department of the Seine, which includes Paris, had contributed only 1,250,000 francs. The contribution of the Seine was shortly raised, however, to 1,750,000 francs, the additional amount to be used for the communes of the Meuse, Meurthe-et-Moselle, the Moselle, and the Haut-Rhin. The number of communes which the Seine had been asked to adopt was 271.

the government of French North Africa. In December the city council of Le Havre voted an additional tax for 1922, the estimated return from which was 38,000 francs, for the benefit of Reims.

A number of foreign countries have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the restoration of the invaded area. In June, 1921, the government of Norway transmitted 200,000 francs, mainly given in small sums by working people, for the restoration of the Reims cathedral. In November a community house at Doulieu, in the Nord department, built by the Peruvian government at a cost of 100,000 francs, was formally opened. A contribution of 40,000 francs in aid of a children's hospital at Villers-Franqueux in the Marne was made in 1921 by a Danish society through the Minister of Justice at Copenhagen. A group of workingmen's houses at Lens testifies to the interest and sympathy of friends in Holland who not only gave the houses but also sent mechanics to put them up. The proceeds of an exhibition of paintings, organized at Paris by Czecho-Slovak artists, was handed to the Minister of the Liberated Regions in January, 1922.

In Great Britain the movement for the adoption of devastated French communes, organized and directed by the British League of Help, has made remarkable progress. At the first annual meeting of the League, held at London on July 14, 1921, the adoption of 79 towns or villages and contributions of 5,180,250 francs were reported. The city of Newcastle had sent £12,000 sterling to the mayor of Arras, together with 150 pedigree pigeons to help replace the stock that had been killed or carried off. Kensington had sent £1,100 ster-

ling in money and goods to Souchez, and was preparing to send £1,100 more. Preston had contributed £1,000 sterling and £900 worth of goods to La Bassée, besides giving some twenty children of the town a holiday in England. Sheffield, which adopted Bapaume, had remitted 230,000 francs by the end of the year. In September a delegation of 49 mayors of British cities visited the devastated departments and Paris. By January, 1922, the number of adoptions had reached nearly one hundred and the list was still growing.

In the fall of 1914 the British Society of Friends, or Quakers, began general relief work and the construction of temporary buildings in the Marne and the Meuse, eventually extending their efforts to other departments. Permanent houses of brick were erected at Sermaize-les-Bains and Pargny, and a hospital was opened at Sermaize-les-Bains, a children's home at Bettancourt-la-Langue, and a maternity hospital at Châlons-sur-Marne. In addition to constructing hundreds of houses, barraques, and barns, the representatives of the society helped in the clearing of fields and the planting and harvesting of crops, and contributed large quantities of seed, tools, furniture, clothing, bedding, and the other supplies. Beginning with the summer of 1919 the work of the British Society of Friends was merged with that of the American Society, which had been working on similar lines, under the name of the Anglo-American Friends' Mission. The operations of the mission continued actively until 1921; then, with the progress of government reconstruction, the representatives of the mission were gradually withdrawn.

It was natural that a large volume of philanthropic aid should come from the United States. So much of the American effort as was concerned with the temporary relief of the civil population does not fall within the scope of this volume, and much of the temporary rebuilding that was done during the war was, unhappily, swept away in the successive German advances. Once the armistice had put an end to hostilities, however, the way was open for work of a permanent character; and while no such large organized effort as has been made in England and France for the adoption of communes is to be credited to the United States, the record of American achievement is nevertheless considerable and in one important instance has unique value.

The earliest and best known example of a devastated commune rebuilt by American aid is Vitrimont, a small village in the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, which was restored at the expense of Mrs. Crocker of San Francisco under the direction of Miss Daisy Polk, now the Comtesse de Buyer. The commune itself as well as the individual sinistrés assigned their indemnity claims to Miss Polk, and the communal buildings as well as private properties were restored. The village of Hattan-Châtel, near St. Mihiel, has been adopted by Mr. William Skinner and his daughter of Holyoke, Massachusetts, and is in process of reconstruction. An association formed at Washington, D. C., has undertaken to rebuild the village of Belleau as a memorial to the American soldiers who fell in the fighting at Belleau Wood. A number of other communes have from time to time been adopted by American cities or local committees.

Among important gifts to devastated communes are to be noted the presentation of a water supply and memorial fountain to Tilloloy in the Somme, given by the Daughters of the American Revolution and installed under the direction of the Baroness de la Grange; funds in aid of village water supplies in various localities, given by Mr. William Nelson Cromwell of New York; a water system for Coucy-le-Château, the gift of Mrs. Whitney Warren; a water supply and community house at Apremont-la-Forêt, in the Meuse, provided by the city of Holyoke, Massachusetts, and by Miss Skinner of that city; a group of school buildings at Chassemy, in the Aisne, a contribution by the French Restoration Fund through a French society known as L'École pour l'École; a gift of 3,000,000 francs contributed by American educational institutions for the restoration of the library at Reims; and school libraries, the gift of American school children, for St. Mihiel, Sivry, Étain, Stenay, Fresnes, and Neuf-Brisac.

An open-air vacation camp at Lille, established in 1919 for the benefit of children who for various reasons could not enjoy the advantages of the government camp at Camiers, owed its inception to an American woman, Mrs. Burr. A gift of Holstein-Frisian bulls, presented to the French government in 1921 by a group of American stock breeders, was divided among the several departments in geographical order beginning with the Nord and the Pas-de-Calais. A legacy of $2,000,000 under the will of Frank H. Buhl of Grove City, Pennsylvania, for the benefit of the people of the devastated parts of France and Belgium, was an-

nounced in June, 1921. A set of steel molding forms for use in the erection of a special type of concrete house in which the abundant débris of the invaded regions can be utilized, was presented to the government by M. R. J. Caldwell of New York, chairman of the French Restoration Fund. A group of fifty American students of architecture, representing twelve educational institutions, spent the summer of 1921 in work at Soissons, Evergnicourt (Aisne), Verdun, and Reims under the direction of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions.

Of the numerous American organizations which at various times have contributed to the reconstruction of the invaded departments, the greatest interest and in some respects the greatest importance attach to the American Committee for Devastated France. The work of this society is particularly instructive not only because of the energy with which the society has been administered and the wide support which it has received in the United States and in France, but also because of the success with which it has applied in a comparatively small area some of the American methods of social settlement work with which rural France was previously not familiar.

The American Committee for Devastated France (known in France as the Comité Américain pour les Régions Dévastées), incorporated in 1917 under the laws of the State of New York, is the successor of the Civilian Committee of the American Fund for French Wounded, formed in 1916 to aid the civil population of the invaded regions. Working from the first under the official patronage of the French government, it was

assigned by the military authorities to the department of the Aisne, with headquarters at Blérancourt. Its first field of work comprised the cantons of Chauny, Coucy-le-Château, and Vic-sur-Aisne; in January, 1918, the Soissons canton was added. Taken together these four cantons constitute perhaps the most thoroughly devastated portion not only of the Aisne department but of the entire invaded area. No region more likely to test the spirit and devotion of the women who mainly composed the Committee could have been selected in the whole war zone, nor one more certain to present difficult problems of reconstruction once the conclusion of peace should make reconstruction possible.

Until the beginning of the German offensive of March, 1918, the representatives of the Committee devoted themselves chiefly to preparing card lists of families that had returned, providing furniture and necessary supplies for the temporary houses erected by the government, aiding the restoration of agriculture, establishing domestic science classes, and caring for the children. When in the spring and summer of 1918 the German advance again drove out the civil population, the Committee helped the evacuation, operated relief stations, kept in touch with refugees in other parts of France, opened a supply depot at Paris, and continued its oversight of children. In August a children's colony at Boullay-Thierry, in the interior, was added to one already established at Beaumont-le-Roger. An arrangement was also made with the American Women's Hospital organization for the maintenance of a hospital in close relations with the Com-

mittee, the hospital itself, after a period of migration, being eventually located at Blérancourt.

Following the armistice the permanent work of reconstruction was begun. With Blérancourt, Vic-sur-Aisne, Coucy-le-Château, Anizy, Soissons, and Laon as centers, the Committee undertook the restoration of normal conditions in some 77 devastated communes, partly by providing temporary relief or granting assistance where either was necessary, but chiefly by helping the people to help themselves. Thirty-two agricultural syndicates, 26 in the canton of Coucy and 8 in the canton of Anizy, have been formed, and 300,000 francs advanced for the purchase of grain. Forty tractors have worked over 9,000 hectares of land in these two cantons. An abandoned farm at Villeneuve-la-Hurée has been brought under cultivation, the products going to the syndicates. Seed, fruit trees, poultry, farm animals, tools, and fertilizer have been provided by gift or money advances, and in some cases the Committee camions, of which thirty large and small are in service, aided in carrying crops to market. For a time clothing, bedding, and house furnishings were sold at low prices or below cost, and traveling stores distributed food supplies which could not otherwise be obtained. Once the farmers and villagers had become reëstablished, however, and local merchants had returned, the free distribution of supplies or their sale at less than market price ceased, and at the present time practically all purely relief work of this character has been discontinued.

The problem of rebuilding was perforce mainly left to the sinistrés themselves, the procedure under the

law of war damages taking its normal course. Important help was extended, however. The difficulty long occasioned by the inability of sinistrés to pledge their indemnity claims as security for loans was bridged by loans to coöperative reconstruction societies, thus enabling the societies to anticipate government payments or to pay for work already done. A well-equipped workshop and sawmill at Blérancourt has turned out doors, windows, and other material for houses, and a quarry is operated, the products of both of these establishments being placed at the service of the societies. In addition the Committee itself undertook contracts for building or repairing, and with the aid of local workmen has already erected 5 storehouses, 2 schools, and 60 houses, and has repaired 2 churches and 73 houses.

Besides helping the people to restore their homes and farms, the Committee has also devoted itself to caring for the health of the population, improving education, and enriching social life. In 1920 the hospital at Blérancourt, with twenty-five beds, was given to the Committee. It has been enlarged to forty-five beds and is now in charge of French doctors and nurses. Eight automobile ambulances are in service. A district nursing service is maintained with the collaboration of 29 nurses assigned to the department of the Aisne, and a district nursing center has been opened at Reims which cares for 2,000 children. Baby clinics are held twice a week at nine centers, schools undergo sanitary inspection at least twice a year, the disinfection of houses in which contagious diseases have occurred has been taken over at Soissons,

and layettes, linen, and condensed and fresh milk are distributed. In each canton needy sick persons are visited at their homes by a local physician at the charge of the Committee, persons in need of hospital treatment are taken to Blérancourt or other points, and convalescents are returned to their homes. A dental service is in operation at Blérancourt, and a dental inspection of school children is made twice a year.

Sixteen *foyers* have been built by the Committee, and moving pictures, concerts, and sports are provided or arranged. Five public libraries and 23 traveling libraries have been opened, and distributions of books are regularly made to 11 *foyers* and 34 schools. Several hundred school desks have been manufactured at Blérancourt. Most of the bells of parish churches disappeared during the war; an Angelus fund, inspired by Mrs. Elizabeth Creevy Hamm and administered by the Committee, is replacing them. In 14 centers children are assembled once a week for gymnastics and manual training, and instruction in cutting and sewing is offered to women and girls. Thirty-five villages have domestic science classes for girls, and 27 villages have domestic science or kindergarten classes for children. A demonstration service illustrative of American methods of preserving or canning food has already visited 20 departments, and a second service is planned. Numerous athletic clubs, including clubs for girls, have been formed, athletic fields have been provided at Soissons, Vic-sur-Aisne, Blérancourt, Anizy, and six other centers, and instruction in physical education in the schools of Blérancourt, Anizy, and

Coucy-le-Château, and in parts of Soissons and Vic-sur-Aisne, has been taken over.

The total disbursements of the Committee in France since 1917 have exceeded 18,000,000 francs. Its budget for 1921 called for the expenditure of more than $1,250,000.

The possible future of the American Committee for Devastated France offers an interesting field for speculation. In the ordinary course of things the realization of the government program of reconstruction will before long make direct private assistance unnecessary. Within a few years at the most the destroyed communes will have been rebuilt and the population will have become once more self-sustaining and independent. In the summer of 1921 the Committee closed its center at Laon. The establishment of a district nursing center at Reims, on the other hand, and the recent taking over of seven devastated communes in the region of the Chemin des Dames, suggest the possible further extension of the field of the Committee either in the Aisne department or elsewhere in the liberated regions. Its assistance in developing and directing district nursing and child welfare work, neither of which has thus far received much scientific attention in France, and in aiding the movement for community centers, can ill be dispensed with for many years to come. The crucial difficulty, after all, is money rather than opportunity, for the field is wide and the need great.

One of the lasting contributions of public and private philanthropy to the restoration of devastated France has been its encouragement of the coöperative

spirit. However praiseworthy the qualities of sturdy independence, self-reliance, and thrift which French individualism has long helped to develop, individualism has nevertheless repeatedly clogged the wheels of reconstruction. Against this tendency such organizations as the Anglo-American Friends' Mission, the Foyer des Campagnes, the American Committee for Devastated France, the British League of Help, and the Union of Associations for National Progress have set themselves, not by empty precept but by practical example. Every *foyer* opened, every coöperative society established or helped, every commune adopted or set once more upon its feet, has been a potent illustration of what can be accomplished when people work together. If the money and personal service which have been devoted to the rehabilitation of devastated towns and villages shall have served also to implant a new community spirit of coöperation, the cost will have been small indeed for the gain that will have been made.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSIONS

The devastated zone of France to-day may be likened in appearance to a great building which, long in process of construction, is at last nearing completion. The foundations have been laid, the walls and partitions erected, and the roof is in place. The interior finishings have yet to be added, however, while about the outside are scattered the débris of excavation and construction and piles of miscellaneous material still to be used. To the architect, the contractor, and the workmen the undertaking is pursuing the accustomed course save as incidental changes of plan, delays in obtaining material, or shortage of labor have now and then caused the work to stop. To the owner or future occupant, on the other hand, less interested in processes than in the earliest possible completion of the work, the progress has often, perhaps, seemed slow, while to the casual passer-by the scene may give only an impression of noise and unsightliness.

It is to this first picture of disorder and incompleteness, the feeling of something overturned and wrenched that has not yet been righted and repaired, that much of the popular criticism of reconstruction is undoubtedly due. In the presence of ruins the like of which have never been seen anywhere in the world, there is

strong temptation to conclude that nothing important has been done. Unsightly barraques and shattered houses, piles of stone and brick and twisted metal, often overshadow in interest the thousands of buildings that have been restored, the hundreds of factories and mills that have been erected, and the millions of tons of débris that obviously must have been removed. A few hectares of uncultivated land, still strewn with barbed wire or scarred by unfilled trenches, may go far to blind the eye to the significance of the well-tilled farms extending on every hand; while the discomforts of temporary railway stations and cinder platforms seem often to have obscured the solidly-built tracks, the regular service of trains, and the shipments of coal, ore, machinery, lumber, and other freight which the revival of industrial life in the invaded departments has produced.

Yet it is as easy to overestimate as it is natural to underestimate what has been accomplished. The primary task of clearing the ruins preparatory to rebuilding has not yet been completed; in more than one locality, indeed, it has hardly been begun. Many industrial establishments have not yet been restored, the mines have not yet attained their pre-war volume of production. The slow progress in the restoration of the sugar factories is a serious matter for many farmers as well as for the consuming public, and the small number of cattle means a lack of fertilizer which cannot be made good by the use of chemicals. Comparatively little attention has as yet been given to the forests, and still less to public buildings, churches, and monuments. The neglect of permanent housing has

not only created a housing crisis which is constantly becoming more serious, but has also had the effect of giving to the liberated regions an appearance of poverty and incompleteness which the state of industry and agriculture belies.

All about the former war zone, moreover, are areas that have been neglected. Most of these areas are small villages, but some comprise many hectares of what was once well-ordered forest, field, or pasture. Some large towns and cities still show little evidence of reconstruction in either their residential or their business quarters. Whatever the cause, whether the complete destruction of the village, doubt about the propriety of rebuilding, or delays caused by the slow-moving government machinery, every one of these neglected places is an eyesore and a plague spot, reflecting by its dreariness and desolation upon the government which has passed it by, and infecting with discouragement and discontent the population not yet fully reëstablished. Now that the reconstitution of industry and agriculture is as a whole far advanced, the eradication of these nurseries of complaint and despair ought at once to be begun.

Adverse criticism of the government, however, even where government effort has been least fruitful, may well be restrained. Wisdom after the event is proverbially easy, especially where problems are new and tasks many and complicated. To insist that the government should have done this rather than that solves no present problem; at best such criticism serves only to indicate work yet to be performed. The large lines of the reconstruction program have been drawn, the

foundations of economic restoration have been laid, and the building of the superstructure is far advanced. What remains to be done, great as it is, is far more a matter of details than of fundamentals.

It should not be forgotten, moreover, that the achievements of reconstruction have been accomplished under the stress of many national preoccupations and in the face of much hostile criticism. The years which have intervened since the armistice and the peace have not been quiet years for France. An incessant fire of political attack, now from radicals and again from conservatives, has been directed against both the domestic and the foreign policy of the government. The treaties made at the close of the war have given rise to delicate international situations in whose treatment France has played an important and at times a leading part. Within France itself there was much to reconstruct besides the invaded departments. Pensions, railway reorganization, housing, and taxation are only a few of the matters to which government and people have been forced to give earnest attention. It would have been easy to excuse the government if under all the circumstances reconstruction had lagged; that it has progressed as it has, and that more than fifty milliards of francs have been found to support it, is an unparalleled national feat.

What will the invaded departments be like once they shall have been completely restored? Will they exhibit, in all essential respects, the same economic and social characteristics which they had before the war, or will they have become a new region with new traits and new ideals? Will the war have been to

them only a huge calamity whose losses have nevertheless been made good, or will something vital have been lost that cannot be replaced?

Certain economic changes of importance seem already clearly to be forecast. The course of reconstruction is already tending to make the liberated departments more an industrial region and less an agricultural one than before the war. The construction of larger and more modern factories and mills, the extended use of electrical power furnished by great generating and transmission systems, the improvement of railways and waterways, and the provision of whole villages of attractive and well-built houses for employees, all point to a future expansion of industry far beyond what had been attained in 1914. Plans are already under way for the more intensive working of coal and iron deposits, and the establishment of new industries in the coal-mining districts is going on. Small corporations are being merged in larger ones, and capital issues are increasing. The area devoted to agriculture, on the other hand, tends to decline as manufacturing industry expands, and with a practically stationary population the number of agricultural laborers falls as the number of industrial workers rises. The failure of the sugar factories thus far to rebuild, the precarious state of the wine industry, and the deficient supply of cattle are important agricultural losses for which no offset has yet been found. Increased use of tractors or electrical power for farm work will doubtless make good to some extent the loss to the farms of labor drawn into the manufacturing centers, and the merging of small farms in larger ones

will make easier the use of mechanical power, but there is little reason to think that even with these advantages agriculture will long hold its own.

To the eye, accordingly, the face of the invaded departments will be materially changed as reconstruction proceeds. There will be more factories and mills and fewer small farms. The rebuilt houses will long have a new look even when built on ancient lines, and town planning will change the appearance of more than one town whose arrangement before the war was more picturesque than convenient. There will be evidences of sanitation which many of the older communities lacked, better provision for open-air recreation in the industrial communities, and enlarged suburban districts connecting the country and the town.

No signs are yet apparent, however, of any fundamental changes in the habits or temper of the people that are not already taking place in other parts of France. The indelible mark which France imprints upon its children has not been removed by either war or reconstruction. The same strong sense of nationality, the same attachment to country and to place, the same industry and thrift, the same mixture of deference and contempt in the face of authority, and the same consciousness of a great history which has made France strong, characterize the people of the half-built towns and country districts of the north and east and those of the untouched communities of the west, the Midi, and the south. The war swept away vast quantities of material things which generations had accumulated, and reconstruction in restoring them is rearranging the balance of social classes and

spreading a new spirit of coöperation, but in other respects the temper of the people remains essentially untouched. The greatest danger at the moment is that the prolongation of reconstruction over many years may cause the people of the invaded regions to be regarded, what at present they are not, as a class apart. If that calamity can be avoided, the liberated regions will have only a more vivid memory of war and a more grateful sense of obligation to distinguish them from the rest of France.

APPENDIX A

Town Planning Law[1]

March 14, 1919

Article 1. Every city of ten thousand inhabitants or over is required, without prejudice to the general plan of lines and levels imposed upon all communes by Article 136, paragraph 13, of the law of April 5, 1884, to have a plan of arrangement, improvement, and extension.

This plan, which is to be drawn up within not to exceed three years from the promulgation of the present law, shall include:

1. A plan fixing the direction, the width, and the character of the ways to be laid out or modified, determining the location, the extent, and the arrangement of the places, squares, public gardens, playgrounds, parks, and other open spaces, and indicating the reserved areas, whether wooded or not, to be established, as well as the sites destined for monuments or public buildings or services.

2. A program determining the hygienic, archæological, and æsthetic restrictions, as well as all other conditions relating thereto, and in particular the open spaces to be reserved, the height of buildings, as well as the provisions regarding the distribution of drinking water, the system of drains, the removal and final disposition of waste and, if required, the drainage of the soil.

3. A form of order to be issued by the mayor, with the advice of the municipal council, regulating the conditions under which the measures prescribed in the plan and the program are to be applied.

The same duties are imposed:

[1] *Bulletin des Lois,* Nouvelle Série, No. 245, pp. 558-563.

1. Upon all the communes of the department of the Seine.

2. Upon places of less than ten thousand and more than five thousand inhabitants the population of which has increased more than ten per cent. in the interval between two consecutive quinquennial censuses.

3. Upon bathing resorts, seaside resorts, watering places, health resorts, pleasure resorts, and other resorts the population of which, whatever its size, increases fifty per cent. or more at certain periods of the year.

4. Upon localities, whatever their size, having a picturesque, artistic, or historical character, included in the list required to be drawn up by the departmental commissions of natural sites and monuments established by the law of April 21, 1906.

5. Upon groups of dwelling houses and localities built or developed by associations, companies, or individuals.

Article 2. When any locality, whatever the number of its population, has been wholly or partially destroyed by reason of war, fire, earthquake, or any other calamity, the municipality is required to have drawn up within three months the general plan of lines and levels for the parts to be reconstructed, as provided by the law of April 5, 1884, together with a summary sketch of the plan of arrangement, improvement, and extension contemplated by Article 1 of the present law.

An order of the prefect, issued with the advice of the commission constituted by Article 4 of the present law, shall decide whether the locality comes within the scope of the conditions set forth in the preceding paragraph, and shall fix the beginning of the period of three months.

Until the plan of lines and levels has been approved, no buildings except provisional shelters shall be erected without the authorization of the prefect, given with the advice of the commission constituted by Article 4 following.

Article 3. The expense of the plans and proposals provided for by the preceding articles is at the cost of the state so far as the communes covered by Article 2 preceding are concerned, notwithstanding the principle laid down by Article 136, paragraph 13, of the municipal law of April 5, 1884.

The same provision applies to the localities covered by paragraph 4 of the enumeration contained in Article 1 of the present law.

In the case of other communes, subventions may be granted by decision of the Minister of the Interior, rendered on the application of the prefect of the department, upon the credits entered under this head in the budget of the Ministry of the Interior, and in a proportion which shall be determined by a decree issued in the form prescribed by the rules of public administration.

ARTICLE 4. There is constituted at the prefecture of each department, under the presidency of the prefect or of his representative, a commission known as the "Departmental Commission for the planning and extension of Cities and Villages," composed of the departmental council of hygiene, the departmental commission of natural sites and monuments, the departmental council of civil buildings, and four mayors designated by the general council.

This commission shall give hearings to the delegates of societies of architecture, art, archæology, history, agriculture, commerce, industry, and sport, and of transport companies in the department, as well as to the mayors of the cities or communes interested, and the representatives of the various public services of the state, whom it thinks ought to be convoked or who request an opportunity to present their views.

It may add to its number *rapporteurs*[1] who shall have a deliberate voice in matters intrusted to them.

This commission shall bring together all the documents necessary to facilitate the work of the communes in preparing their plans and to guide them [in that work].

It shall give its advice:

1. With respect to the plans drawn up by the municipalities.
2. With respect to the departures which, because of special difficulties or local needs, it may be necessary to make from the principles laid down by the superior commission constituted under Article 5 following.
3. With respect to the æsthetic or hygienic easements (*servitudes*) resulting from the plans submitted to it.
4. With respect to all matters which the prefect deems it useful to submit to it.

ARTICLE 5. There is established within the Ministry of the

[1] There is no English equivalent for *rapporteur*. In this connection it apparently means an expert, or a person with special knowledge of a particular subject.

Interior, under the presidency of the minister or his delegate and the vice-presidency of the Minister of the Liberated Regions or his delegate, a superior commission for the arrangement, improvement, and extension of cities, made up as follows:

Two senators elected by the Senate.

Two deputies elected by the Chamber of Deputies.

Two councillors of state in ordinary service designated by their colleagues.

Four mayors, of whom three shall be designated by the Minister of the Interior and one by the Minister of the Liberated Regions, two to be from communes of from twenty thousand to fifty thousand inhabitants and two from communes of more than fifty thousand inhabitants.

The director of departmental and communal administration in the Ministry of the Interior.

The director of public relief and hygiene in the Ministry of the Interior.

Four members of the superior council of public hygiene designated by their colleagues.

Four members of the superior council of fine arts designated by their colleagues.

Four members of the general council of civil buildings designated by their colleagues.

Four members chosen from persons interested in town planning (*urbanistes*), architects, and other persons particularly qualified, two to be designated by the Minister of the Liberated Regions and two by the Minister of the Interior.

It may add to its number *rapporteurs* who shall have a deliberative voice in matters intrusted to them.

This commission is charged with drawing up general rules for the guidance of the municipalities in the application of the present law, and shall give its advice concerning all questions and all plans referred to it by the Minister of the Interior or the Minister of the Liberated Regions either of their own motion or, upon the request of the commission itself, by a statement setting forth the reason for the request.

Article 6. If the plan concerns only a single commune, and except in the case provided for in the fifth paragraph of Article 1 (governed by Article 8 following in regard to groups of dwellings), the municipal council at the instance of the

mayor shall designate the artist or the society to whom the sketch and the preparation of the plans and proposals shall be intrusted.

If within two months from the promulgation of the present law such designation has not been made, the prefect shall notify the municipal council [make such designation] within one month, failing which he shall himself of his own motion make the necessary designation.

If the plan has not been drawn up within the time provided for in articles 1 and 2 above, the prefect shall proceed of his own motion [to fulfill the requirement] at the expense of the commune, and the commune shall forfeit its right to the subventions provided for by Article 3, paragraph 3, of the present law.

ARTICLE 7. When the plan, program, and order provided for by Article 1 have been drawn up they shall be submitted, with the approval of the bureau of hygiene and, in default thereof, of the sanitary commission of the district:

1. To examination by the municipal council.
2. To an inquiry under the provisions of the ordinance of August 23, 1835; and
3. To examination by the commission provided for by Article 4.

The municipal council is then required to give its definitive opinion.

If the municipal council refuses or neglects to examine the plan, the prefect shall notify it to act within one month, failing which he shall himself examine the plan.

The same procedure shall be followed in case the municipal council refuses or neglects to give a definitive opinion.

The prefect shall transmit the papers, together with his opinion and a statement of his reasons therefor, to the Minister of the Interior who shall consult, if he thinks best, the superior commission, and the work required to be done in carrying out the plan shall be declared to be of public utility by decree of the Council of State.

In all cases in which a locality such as is contemplated by Article 2 of the present law is concerned, the declaration of public utility shall be made by order of the prefect, with the approval of the commission constituted by Article 4, except in so far as concerns the localities enumerated in Article 1,

for which a decree of the Council of State shall always be necessary.

ARTICLE 8. Associations, companies, or individuals who shall undertake the erection or development of groups of dwellings are required to deposit at the office of the mayor a plan or arrangement showing the connection with the public ways and, if necessary, with the conduits for drinking water and the sewers of the commune.

Within twenty days following such deposit the plan shall be submitted to examination by the bureau of hygiene or, in default thereof, to the sanitary commission of the district, to the municipal council, then to an inquiry in the form prescribed by the circular of the Minister of the Interior of August 20, 1825.

In case a notice duly attested, addressed by a proprietor to the mayor, is not acted upon within one month, the prefect may order the inquiry.

The plan shall then be submitted to the commission provided for in Article 4 above, and approved, if necessary, by an order of the prefect.

The decision of the prefect is to be made within the month following the inquiry. Failing a decision within that time, the plan shall be deemed to have been approved.

When the plan shall have been approved, no building shall be erected without the delivery by the mayor of a building permit in accordance with the provisions of Article 11 of the law of February 15, 1902.

ARTICLE 9. When the plan of reconstruction, arrangement, improvement, and extension concerns several communes of the department, the prefect may call for a sketch of the plan as a whole on the part of the municipalities interested, and may establish, of his own motion, intercommunal conferences with a view to the constitution of communal syndicates, in conformity with the requirements of articles 116 and 169 of the law of April 5, 1884.

The plan is to be acted upon and declared of public utility according to the forms indicated in articles 6 and 7 of the present law.

If the plan goes beyond the boundaries of the department, it shall be reviewed in an interdepartmental conference according to the provisions of articles 89, 90, and 91 of the law

of August 10, 1871, and shall then be subject, in each commune, to the procedure contemplated by articles 6 and 7 of the present law.

It shall be declared a work of public utility by a law which shall determine the measures necessary for its application.

ARTICLE 10. From the date of the publication of the act declaring a plan of reconstruction, arrangement, improvement, and extension a work of public utility, or of the order of the prefect approving the plans with respect to groups of dwellings provided for by Article 8, the proprietors of land abutting upon proposed ways and spaces shall conform to the regulations prescribed by law regarding building lines, and shall not erect any new structures without having first obtained a building permit from the mayor. No new structures abutting upon proposed ways or spaces shall be erected except in accordance with the building lines that have been fixed.

To insure this, no structure whatever shall be erected without the delivery by the mayor of a building permit.

APPENDIX B

Law of War Damages[1]

April 17, 1919

Law regarding the reparation of damages caused by the events of the war.

TITLE I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. The Republic proclaims the equal and united obligation of the whole French people with respect to the damages of the war.

Article 2. Certain, material, and direct damages in France and Algiers to immovable or movable property, caused by the events of the war, shall give right to the complete reparation provided for by Article 12 of the law of December 26, 1914, without prejudice to the right of the French government to claim payment of the same from the enemy.

The following shall be regarded as damages resulting from the events of the war, namely:

1. All requisitions made by the enemy authorities or troops, levies in kind of any form or character, including those in the form of occupation, billeting, and cantonment, as well as taxes, war contributions, and penalties exacted from individuals and collectivities.[2]

2. The removal of all objects such as crops, animals, trees and wood, raw materials, merchandise, furnishings, securities, and commercial paper; the deterioration or destruction, partial or total, of crops, merchandise, and all movable property, who-

[1] *Bulletin des Lois,* Nouvelle Série, No. 248, pp. 1156-1182.

[2] *Collectivities* includes all kinds of societies, business organizations, local governments, etc. There is no English equivalent.

ever the authors of such removal, deterioration, or destruction may be; the loss of movable objects, whether in France or abroad, in the course of evacuations or repatriations.

3. The deterioration of immovable property, whether or not in the form of buildings, including woods and forests; the partial or total destruction of buildings; the removal, deterioration, or destruction, partial or total, of implements, accessories, and animals appurtenant to commercial, industrial, or agricultural exploitation, which for the purpose of the present law shall be considered as immovable property by destination,[1] whether they belong to the exploiter or to the owner of the property, without inquiry as to who were the authors of the damages referred to in this paragraph.

4. All damages within the purview of the preceding paragraphs caused within the zone of frontier defense as well as in the neighborhood of military locations and fortified places, without imposing upon those who have rights under this provision any exception based upon laws and decrees concerning military rights[2] therein. In every case the commissions of evaluation, in fixing the amount of the indemnity, shall take account of the permissive character (*caractère précaire*) of structures erected in military zones in contravention of laws and regulations or by virtue of authorization subject to an undertaking to remove [the structures] upon request.

5. All damages occasioned to small fishing boats. An administrative regulation shall determine the procedure to be followed in proving and evaluating the damage.

Damages within the purview of the preceding paragraphs shall include those caused by the French or Allied armies, whether by reason of measures in preparation for attack, preventive measures of defense, the necessities of battle and of the evacuation of threatened points, or by reason of the requirements of occupation in those portions of territory which have been included in the zone of the armies, and, in particular, of requisitions, billeting, and cantonment; the right being reserved to the claimant to avail himself at his discretion of the provisions of the laws of July 10, 1791, and July 3, 1877, and

[1] Many forms of movable property intended exclusively for use on or in connection with the land or with business operations are classed by French law as immovable property by destination.

[2] The French term is *servitudes*. Rights of this nature are somewhat analogous to easements in English law.

of the decrees of August 2, 1877, November 23, 1886, and December 27, 1914.

The damages shall be proved and evaluated and the indemnity determined for each sinistré according to categories, following the classification herein provided, in conformity with the provisions of the present law. The sinistré shall have the right to present at the same time his claims to the various categories of damages which he has sustained.

ARTICLE 3. Individuals and their heirs, associations, public enterprises or those of public utility, communes, and departments shall be entitled to exercise the right herein defined.

Corporations and partnerships (*sociétés*) a part of whose capital was withheld by citizens of the enemy powers after the first of August, 1914, shall be reimbursed by the state, by withholding the dividends declared to holders of securities who are subject to the jurisdiction of the enemy powers, or by other [forms of] retention imposed upon such holders, the part of the indemnity which the capital so withheld would have produced.

An administrative regulation shall determine the conditions under which the preceding paragraph is to be applied.

The right to reparation shall attach to foreigners in France, and to naturalized persons from whom the right of French citizenship has been withdrawn, under conditions determined by treaties to be concluded between France and the nation under whose jurisdiction these foreigners or naturalized persons are or have been. For the purpose solely of preserving their rights, foreigners shall be allowed to prove the damages which they may have suffered and to have them evaluated.

A special law will determine the conditions under which concessionaires of ways of communication of general interest shall be admitted to the benefit of the present law.

TITLE II. INDEMNITY

ARTICLE 4. The indemnity with respect to immovable property shall include the total amount of the loss sustained, evaluated on the eve of mobilization, and that of the supplementary expenses required for the reconstitution of the immovable property damaged or destroyed.

The grant of these two elements of indemnity is subject to the condition of effectuating the reëmployment [of the indemnity] in accordance with the provisions of the articles following.

In case the reëmployment [of the indemnity] is not effectuated, the sinistré shall receive only the amount of the loss sustained.

ARTICLE 5. The amount of the loss sustained and that of the supplementary expenses required for the reconstitution of immovables shall be evaluated separately by the commissions constituted by articles 20 and following of the present law.

In the case of buildings and of immovables by destination, the amount of the loss sustained shall be evaluated by taking as the basis the cost of construction, installation, or repair on the eve of mobilization, deduction being made of the amount representing depreciation through age and, in the case of immovables rebuilt or repaired subsequent to mobilization, [the cost] at the time when they were repaired or rebuilt.

[A paragraph relating to the evaluation of damages in the case of immovables that had changed owners, etc., was repealed by a law of August 25, 1920.]

In the case of the immovable property referred to in the second paragraph of the present article, the supplementary expenses shall be equal to the difference between the cost of reconstruction, installation, or repair on the eve of mobilization and that of the restoration of the same kind of immovable property at the date of the evaluation.

Subject to the condition of reëmployment, the amount corresponding to the depreciation resulting from age shall be allowed to the claimant, on all kinds of property, to the aggregate of ten thousand francs, and, for the remainder, the amount may, at the request of the claimant, be made the basis of advances repayable by him to the state in twenty-five years, beginning with the year following the final payment, with interest at three per cent.

Subject to the same condition, the depreciation for age shall not exceed twenty per cent. of the cost of construction on the eve of mobilization in the case of property used solely for agricultural purposes.

For the repayment of these advances the state shall have a lien which shall be included in the first class of the liens governed by Article 2,103 of the Civil Code.

The reëmployment [of indemnities] may take the form of immovable property having the same destination as the properties destroyed, or an immovable, industrial, commercial, or agricultural destination, in the commune where the damage

occurred or within a radius of fifty kilometres, [but] not outside of the devastated zone. In every case of expropriation or repurchase of land by the state, reëmployment shall be effectuated, in the case of agriculture, within the limits of the devastated regions.

Buildings shall be reconstructed in accordance with the provisions prescribed by laws and regulations regarding public hygiene.

Within fifteen days following the promulgation of the present law an administration regulation, made with the approval of the superior council of hygiene, shall determine the rules to be applied in the reconstitution of immovable property and of groups of buildings.

Reëmployment shall be regarded as complete if the claimant has expended in the reconstruction of immovable property or in the restoration of an enterprise (*exploitation*) an amount equal to the total indemnity of all kinds accorded to him.

If the reëmployment is only partial, the claimant shall receive only the proportion of the supplementary expenses which corresponds to the amounts expended.

In the case of immovable property other than buildings, the amount of the loss sustained shall be evaluated by taking account of the deterioration of the soil, of the deterioration or destruction of fences, of trees of all kinds, of vines, plantings, shrubs, and forest trees. Where exploitation is resumed the claimant shall be entitled, in addition [to other indemnity], to the amount of the supplementary expenses necessary for the restoration of the land to its former condition of use or productivity, the rebuilding of fences, the removal of stumps, new plantings, or reforestation.

Claimants shall be entitled to pool their rights to indemnity or to put them into corporations or partnerships (*apporter en société*) for the purpose of reconstructing immovable property or of resuming exploitation or [reconstituting] agricultural, commercial, or industrial establishments, under the conditions and within the limits set forth in the preceding paragraphs.

In case rights are pooled or put into corporations or partnerships, the rights shall be registered only at their pre-war valuation.[1]

In the case of public service concessionaires, departments,

[1] *I.e.*, the shares or subscriptions, as officially registered or recorded, shall be on the basis of the pre-war valuation of the rights.

communes, [and] public enterprises or those of public utility, the indemnity shall not exceed the amount of the expenses of reconstruction of immovable property intended for the same use as formerly (*avec l'affectation antérieure*).

In the case of concessionaires of mines, the grant of the indemnities provided for by the present article shall be subject to the resumption of exploitation, unless the impossibility of such resumption is duly established, in which case the indemnity shall be solely the amount of the loss sustained.

ARTICLE 6. The restoration of a building or the resumption of exploitation may be forbidden by the tribunal of war damages of its own motion if [such restoration or resumption] is deemed impracticable or contrary to economic interest or public health.

ARTICLE 7. In case reëmployment is not effectuated, the indemnity shall nevertheless be calculated by taking account of the amount of loss sustained and the supplementary expenses. The sinistré shall receive the amount of the loss sustained.

The supplementary expenses of restoration shall be placed to the credit of a common fund, under conditions to be determined by the budget law, to be used for the benefit of the regions which have suffered.

ARTICLE 8. If reëmployment is not effectuated, the payment of the loss sustained shall be made by the delivery to the sinistré of a bond (*titre*) representing the amount which is due to him and bearing interest at five per cent. per annum.

These bonds shall be non-transferable for five years from the date of their delivery to the claimants; they may, however, be assigned during that period, under the authorization, accompanied by a statement of the grounds thereof, of the civil tribunal sitting *en banc,* the ministry [concerned] being heard. An appeal may be taken from the decision of [the court of] first instance to a court which shall render a decision *en banc* in accordance with the procedure of summary jurisdiction.

Every transfer made in violation of the foregoing provisions shall be void; a judgment of nullity shall be rendered at the request of the Minister of Finance.

After the expiration of the period of five years the bond shall be redeemed by payment in cash in ten equal annual installments, the first payment to be made at the expiration of the sixth year and the remaining payments at the expiration of successive periods of twelve months.

Claimants who shall undertake to reëmploy or reinvest their indemnity—under the conditions prescribed by articles 9, 44, and 45 of the present law—shall receive payments in cash in the ways provided for by the said articles.

Article 9. The claimant shall have a period of two years from [the date of] the decision fixing definitively the indemnity in which to consent to the condition of reëmployment. He shall be required to furnish in support of his agreement, in order to facilitate the calculation of the supplementary expenses, a plan of the work to be done or of the purchases to be made, with a detailed estimate of costs.

[Article 10 relates to the payment of indemnity and the conditions of reëmployment in the case of property held in joint ownership, property subject to liens or mortgages, etc.]

Article 11. In case the claimant does not reëmploy [the indemnity], the owners interested may form syndicates (*associations syndicales autorisées*), under the forms and conditions prescribed by the laws of June 21, 1865, and December 22, 1888, for the execution of work of collective utility. In case the commune is not one of the owners presumptively interested, the mayor shall nevertheless be entitled to take part in the meeting [of the syndicate], but only in an advisory capacity.

Article 12. In the case of civil or church buildings the indemnity shall consist of the amounts necessary for the reconstruction of an edifice presenting the same character, having the same importance, the same purpose, and affording the same guarantees of permanence as the building destroyed.

This importance and these guarantees shall be determined, at the request of the interested parties or of its own motion, by the special commission hereinafter provided.

In case of dispute the determination shall be made by the tribunal of war damages.

The Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, with the approval of the said commission, shall decide in regard to the preservation and consolidation of the ruins and, eventually, their restoration to their former condition, of monuments of historical or artistic national interest. Subventions for this purpose shall be carried in the chapter of the budget law of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.

If reconstruction on the site of the ruins is not authorized, the indemnity shall comprise the amounts necessary for the acquisition of new land.

The commission above referred to shall be composed of two senators elected by the Senate; three deputies elected by the Chamber; two members of the French Academy, two members of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, two members of the Academy of Fine Arts, appointed by their societies; a member of the Superior Council of Fine Arts; a member of the General Council of Civil Buildings; two members of the Commission of Historical Monuments, elected by their colleagues; a representative of the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts; a representative of the Minister of Finance; a representative of the Minister of the Interior; a representative of the Minister of Labor; a representative of the minister charged with the reconstitution of the liberated regions; a representative of each religious denomination interested in the repair of buildings, appointed by the Minister of the Interior; and six artists (*personnalités artistiques*) appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.

Within one month from the date of promulgation of the present law an administrative regulation shall determine the operations and procedure of this commission, whose duty it shall be to consult the municipal councils and groups interested.

ARTICLE 13. Damages caused to movable property shall be repaired to the extent of the loss sustained, evaluated as of June 30, 1914, for movables other than agricultural products, and for the latter as of the date of maturity of the crop. In the case of movable property purchased or produced subsequent to June 30, 1914, the evaluation of the loss sustained shall always be made on the basis of the purchase price or cost of production if they can be established.

[The second paragraph of this article was abrogated by a law of August 25, 1920.]

The indemnity accorded in reparation of damages caused to raw materials and industrial stocks shall be paid in the way provided for by Article 8 whenever the claimant, if he has sustained damages to immovable property, shall not have consented to the condition of reëmployment and whenever reëmployment has not been prohibited.

Supplementary expenses representing the difference between the loss sustained and the cost of replacement, calculated by taking account either of the cost of replacement if replacement has been effectuated, or of the cost of replacement at the date of evaluation if replacement has not yet been accomplished, shall

also be accorded in the case of movable property comprised in the following categories:

1. Raw materials and stocks indispensable for an industrial enterprise, to the extent of the quantity necessary for the resumption of normal operations and of manufacture for a period of three months, together with products in course of manufacture and objects appurtenant to the exercise of a profession.

2. Animals, if they are not considered as immovables by destination, as well as fertilizer, seed, crops, and various products necessary for the resumption of cultivation, the seeding of land, and the feeding of animals in agricultural enterprises until the next harvest.

3. Equipment intended for use in commercial enterprises or in the exercise of a profession, together with goods and merchandise necessary to insure the carrying on of commerce or industry for a period of three months.

4. Household goods, furniture, bedding, linen, personal effects; ornaments the value of which in each case did not exceed three thousand francs at the date of the declaration of war.

ARTICLE 14. Damages caused by the loss of bonds or coupons of French government obligations shall be made good by the delivery of bonds or coupons of the same kind in replacement.

In the case of French bonds or coupons other than those issued by the state, or of foreign bonds or coupons the restoration of which cannot be had in France by legal means, the damages shall be made good to the extent of the loss sustained, evaluated as of the last quoted market price before the date of the determination of the indemnity or, in default of quotation, by direct appraisal, the French government acting by subrogation for the claimants for the purpose of securing the restoration of their bonds or coupons, and reserving in all cases the right to free itself by the delivery of bonds or coupons of the same kind.

ARTICLE 15. Immediate, direct, and certain war damages caused to public and administrative officers shall be compensated to the extent of the loss sustained, measured by the difference between the value of the office at the date of mobilization and its value at the date of the evaluation [of the damage].

[The remainder of the article deals with the details of application of the foregoing provision.]

ARTICLE 16. The provisions of Article 10 relating to the conservation of rights in realty shall apply, in the case of movable property, either to the objects of replacement or to the indemnity accorded in their place.

ARTICLE 17. When protective measures have been taken to avoid damage to immovable or movable property or to prevent aggravation of damages, an indemnity shall be accorded in reimbursement of expenses duly proved.

ARTICLE 18. The indemnities accorded under the provisions of the present title shall not be added to any other indemnity received on account of the same events, except the amounts which the French government shall have recovered from the enemy by virtue of conventions and treaties regarding damages of every kind which shall not have been provided for or which shall have been only partially provided for by the present law.

The amounts accorded for the construction of temporary shelters for persons, animals, or effects shall not be deducted from the total of the indemnity.

In case the claimant has taken out insurance covering war risks, the indemnity shall be calculated by deducting the amounts due from the insurer, but account shall be taken of premiums paid. In no case shall insurance companies have recourse against the state.

ARTICLE 19. For the purpose of provisional construction and under the conditions of the present law the claimant may obtain a partial payment, the amount of which shall not exceed one-third of the total indemnity. In that case the balance of the indemnity shall, at the request of the interested party, be capitalized at five per cent. by the treasury from the date of the initial credit, and the amount so obtained shall be paid to the claimant on condition of definitive construction,[1] in accordance with the provisions of the present law regarding payment.

TITLE III. JURISDICTION

ARTICLE 20. Damages provided for by the present law shall be proved and evaluated by cantonal commissions formed for that purpose in conformity with the following provisions:

In each department concerned prefectorial orders shall fix the period within which cantonal commissions shall be constituted,

[1] *I.e.*, on condition that the amounts paid shall be used for permanent construction.

the number of those commissions for each canton, the seat and jurisdiction of each of them, and the date at which they shall begin operations.

If the situation or condition of certain communes so require, the seat of a commission may be fixed in a commune of a neighboring department by order of the Minister of the Liberated Regions.

When the place where the damage took place is not known, and when for other reasons it is not possible to proceed to prove such damage within the jurisdiction of the cantonal commission already constituted, the proof and evaluation of the damage shall be made by a special commission the composition of which shall be the same as that of the cantonal commissions, and which shall have its seat at Paris.

The tribunal of war damages of the Seine shall have jurisdiction to pass upon appeals taken from the decisions rendered by the commission in question.

If the subject of the damage extends over several cantons, jurisdiction shall attach to the commission of the canton in which the principal part [of the damage] is situated.

For the ascertainment and appraisal of war damages caused to ferries and to transport and towing enterprises on navigable waterways, a special commission sitting at Paris in the Ministry of Public Works is established. If the place of the damage is known and the damage can be proved, the cantonal commission of the place in which the damage occurred shall proceed to take the proof, if the interested party so requests, and in his presence. A record of the proceeding in proof shall be drawn up, and this record shall be transmitted within eight days to the special commission charged with the evaluation of the damage.

Appeals taken from the decisions rendered by this special commission shall be brought before the tribunal of war damages of the Seine.

ARTICLE 21. The cantonal commissions shall be composed of five members:

1. A president, chosen within the jurisdiction of the court of appeal by the presiding judge (*premier président*), or, in default [of such choice], outside of the jurisdiction, by the Minister of Justice, from among the judges of civil tribunals and judges of the peace or former magistrates of civil tribunals and tribunals of commerce who have served ten years, advocates who have practiced at least ten years, retired solicitors and

notaries who have practiced their profession for the same length of time or who for ten years in succession have practiced their profession of advocate or administrative officer or magisterial functions.

2. A representative appointed by the ministers of Finance and of the Liberated Regions.

3. An architect, contractor, or engineer.

4. An official appraiser, clerk or retired clerk, dealer in furniture, or other person possessing special competence for the evaluation of household goods and personal effects.

5. A farmer, industrial, merchant, or skilled workman, chosen according to the case and the nature of the damages to be evaluated.

[A law of October 23, 1919, provided for the appointment of one or more alternates, etc. The members of the commission, except the representative of the Minister of Finance, together with alternates and secretaries, are to be appointed by the civil tribunal sitting *en banc*. The president and two members are necessary for the transaction of business. All correspondence is to be transmitted in sealed envelopes.]

ARTICLE 22. In the case of damages to mines, mining properties or quarries, woods and forests, or ponds, the commission shall be composed as follows: a president appointed as under the preceding article, a representative of the Minister of Finance, two members chosen by lot from among persons engaged in developing mines, woods, or ponds, and an agent of [the public service of] public works or of waters and forests, appointed by the ministers concerned, and a miner, according to the nature of the damages to be evaluated.

In the case of damages to ferries, or to transport or towing enterprises on navigable waterways, the commission shall be composed as follows: a president appointed by the presiding judge of the court of Paris as under the preceding article, a representative of the Minister of Finance, a representative of the Minister of Public Works, a shipbuilder or boatman. These last two members shall be appointed by the advisory committee of interior navigation, which shall at the same time designate in each category one or more alternates.

ARTICLE 23. There shall be constituted in each department a technical committee, which shall prepare or cause to be prepared by competent persons or associations series of prices relating to immovable property, in order to facilitate on the

one hand the calculation of the loss sustained, and on the other hand the determination of the supplementary expenses of reconstruction and the value of replacement.

This committee shall be called together by the president not later than the month preceding the meeting of each cantonal commission. It shall comprise, besides the prefect or his representative, a representative of the Minister of Public Works, a representative of the Minister of the Liberated Regions; the presidents and vice-presidents of commercial tribunals and chambers of commerce, of agricultural associations and committees, and of conciliation councils of the department; a member of the departmental council of civil buildings designated by that organization; a member of each of the societies of architects and engineers existing in the department.

The series of prices shall be placed at the disposition of the commissions of evaluation and of the appropriate tribunals, which may use them in evaluating damages and fixing indemnities.

Article 24. From the publication of the prefectorial order announcing that the commissions have begun operations, the parties interested shall be at liberty to file their claims, with the papers relating thereto, with the clerk of the appropriate commission, who shall give a receipt therefor.

[A paragraph authorizing the deposit of papers with the mayor or prefect was abrogated by a law of August 25, 1920.]

The sinistré shall indicate the names and residences of creditors, mortgagees, holders of liens, persons having rights of use, habitation, or easement, as well as those having rights under promises of sale, if any such there be.

These creditors shall be informed of the claim by the clerk, and shall be entitled to present their case before the cantonal commission and the tribunal of war damages within eight days.[1]

In the case of property belonging to communes, if the mayor does not act within three months any registered taxpayer of the commune shall have the right to file a claim for the reparation of damages occasioned to communal property.

[Article 25 relates to claims involving married women, incompetents, absent persons, and persons under guardianship.]

Article 26. If the sinistré shall show that it is practically impossible to proceed to the proof and evaluation of any save a part of the damages occasioned to his property, the commission

[1] Amended by a law of August 25, 1920.

shall proceed with partial proofs and evaluations. [1]It shall at the same time, in a separate decision, give notice of the approximate amount of damages not evaluated.

In the case of the civil or church buildings referred to in Article 12, the commission shall also give provisional notice of the amount of the damages before transmitting the papers to the special commission constituted under the Ministry of Fine Arts by the said article.[1]

ARTICLE 27. [The clerk is to notify and summon the interested parties, the state being represented by the prefect.]

The president is empowered to put the papers (*dossiers*) in proper form.

The commission shall hear the parties and others interested. It may also hear any persons specially competent for the evaluation of particular kinds of damages, and may direct any expert examinations or measures of information that may seem to it useful. It may visit the places [where the damages are situated] and for this purpose may delegate two or more of its members.

The commission may in all cases authorize its president to take personally the measures of information enumerated in this [the preceding] paragraph.[2]

The parties may be assisted or represented by a member of their family, parent or relative, or by a member of the bar, or by a public or ministerial officer, or by a legal representative attached to the tribunals of commerce.[3]

[Certain prior laws made applicable.]

ARTICLE 28. The commission shall endeavor to bring the parties to an agreement, shall attest the settlements if any are made, and shall decide whether they ought to be approved by judicial or administrative authority (*homologués*). In that case the settlement shall be final; a record with statement of reasons shall be drawn up, and the evaluation shall be conclusive.

In case an agreement is not reached the commission shall draw up a statement of the claims and contentions of the parties and of the points on which they disagree. It shall establish the reality and importance of the damages by categories, in accordance with Article 2 of the present law, with a separate evaluation of each of the elements of which it is composed.

[1] Amended form of Article 26, under a law of August 25, 1920.
[2] Amended by a law of October 23, 1919.
[3] Amended by a law of August 25, 1920.

The clerk shall send to the parties, by registered letter with a request for acknowledgment of its receipt, a summary notice of the decisions of the commission, and at the same time shall notify them that they have a period of one month from the date when the notice is received in which to examine their papers at the clerk's office and, if they wish, to carry their contentions to the tribunal of war damages.

This tribunal acquires jurisdiction by a statement entered by the parties, or by their specially authorized agent, upon a register kept by the clerk of the said tribunal, who shall give a receipt for the statement.

The record of the cantonal commission, the facts of the case, and all the documents shall then be transmitted by the clerk of the commission to the clerk of the tribunal of war damages.

ARTICLE 29. There shall be established temporarily at the seat of government (*chef-lieu*) of each arrondissement in which cantonal commissions have been constituted a tribunal of war damages.

If circumstances are such that a tribunal cannot be established at the seat of government (*siège*), it shall be set up provisionally in a neighboring arrondissement.

The tribunal may be divided into as many sections (*chambres*) as the need may require. Business shall be distributed among the sections by the president of the first section; matters relating to the same canton shall, so far as possible, be assigned to the same section.

Each section of this tribunal shall be composed:

1. Of a president designated by decree, on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice, from among the honorary or active judges of the courts of appeal and tribunals of first instance.

2. Of two members and two alternates designated in the same manner as the president, and chosen from among the active or honorary judges of the courts of appeal and tribunals of first instance and prefectorial councils, former heads of the society of advocates, professors of law faculties, former presidents of the society of advocates of the Council of State and the Court of Cassation and of societies of solicitors and notaries.

3. Of two members and two alternates chosen by lot, at the beginning of each session of two months, from a list of twenty members designated by the general council.

No decision of the tribunal shall be valid unless three members, including the president, are present.

The tribunal shall be assisted by a clerk appointed by order of the Minister of Justice.

ARTICLE 30. The tribunal shall pronounce upon the reality and importance of damages, in as many separate decisions as there are categories, in accordance with Article 2 of the present law, with separate evaluation of each of the elements which they comprise.

If the rules prescribed by the present law and by decrees and orders issued for its execution shall not have been observed, it shall set aside the irregular proceedings either of its own motion or at the request of the interested parties. If a judgment setting aside a proceeding is rendered the tribunal may, according to the circumstances and the state of the record, remand the case to the cantonal commission or proceed itself to the evaluation of the damages and the determination of the indemnity.

The tribunal shall decide upon written statements and without appeal upon report by one of the judges. The parties may, at their request, themselves present brief oral arguments or may have the same presented by a member of their family, parent or relative, by a practicing advocate, by an administrative officer of the jurisdiction, or by the representative of a regularly constituted association of sinistrés.

The report shall be read and judgment pronounced at a public sitting.

[Article 31 relates to allowances to be made to members of commissions and tribunals.]

ARTICLE 32. Every mode of proof, even by simple presumptions, shall be admissible to establish the reality and importance of the damages, whatever their nature, covered by the present law.

Parents and domestic servants may be heard as witnesses.

The cantonal commission and the tribunal of war damages may direct the production of extracts, attested copies, copies of public or private papers, of registers and commercial accounts, and in general of all papers relevant to the establishment of the reality of the damage and the ascertainment of the evaluation.

They shall fix the periods within which inquiries, expert examinations, and other methods of obtaining information are

to be completed. Experts who do not conform to the limits of time set for them may be removed.

ARTICLE 33. If there shall be dispute in regard to the legal right or standing of the claimant, and whenever difficulties foreign to the determination of the amount of the indemnity shall arise, the indemnity shall be determined independently of such disputes and difficulties, with respect to which the parties shall be relegated to their remedies at law.

ARTICLE 34. Periods of time are to be reckoned in accordance with Article 1,033 of the code of civil procedure.

[Article 35 exempts from internal revenue charges the decisions, papers, etc., of the commissions and tribunals, but unstamped instruments presented are to be stamped if the law so requires.]

ARTICLE 36. Appeal may be taken from the decisions of the tribunal of war damages to the Council of State on the ground of want of jurisdiction, undue exercise of power, or violation of law. The period allowed [for appeal] shall be one month from the date at which the parties are notified of the decision by the clerk, by registered letter with a request for acknowledgment of receipt.[1] The [notice of] appeal shall be filed with the clerk of the tribunal of war damages.

The judgment annulling the decision shall designate a tribunal to pass *de novo* upon the claim to indemnity.

ARTICLE 37. [The first paragraph of this article, limiting to two years from the signature of the treaty of peace the period within which claims to indemnity under Article 2 might be presented, was abrogated by a law of August 25, 1920.]

If the commissions and the tribunal established by the present law shall have been dissolved at the time when action is begun, the action shall be brought before the prefectorial council subject to appeal to the Council of State.

ARTICLE 38. Membership of a tribunal of war damages shall be incompatible with membership of a cantonal commission, with the character of a claimant within the jurisdiction of the tribunal, and with the exercise of an elective office.

ARTICLE 39. Every person who by reason of his office or functions is called upon to participate in the procedure established by the present law shall be bound to professional secrecy under the provisions of Article 378 of the penal code, and liable to the penalties provided by the said article.

[1] This sentence is as amended by a law of August 25, 1920.

[Article 40 provides for the issuance of a decree defining the duties of clerks of commissions and tribunals.]

ARTICLE 41. There shall be delivered to the claimant upon his request and within fifteen days, by the clerk of the cantonal commission or of the tribunal of war damages, a summary of every decision in which he is concerned. The summary shall indicate the name of the claimant, the category and nature of the damages, the amount of the loss sustained and, if such there be, the amount representing depreciation for age and the supplementary expenses of reconstitution or replacement.

[Certain certificates for use before the Council of State are to be delivered under the same conditions.]

ARTICLE 42. During the course of a proceeding for the evaluation of the indemnity for damages sustained by concessionaires of state, departmental, or communal public services, modifications of the contract and of the conditions imposed may be made, on the initiative of the authority granting the concession or of the concessionaires, particularly in order to improve the conditions of exploitation, saving the rights and interests of the concessionaires in case such modifications increase the obligations of the original concession. In default of an agreement within three months following the decision, the authority which granted the concession shall have an unrestricted right of repurchase.

The repurchase shall be proceeded with under the conditions imposed by the contract if such repurchase is provided for, and, if not, upon the testimony of experts based in every case upon the results of exploitation for the last five years preceding the year 1914. The authority granting the concession shall, in the event of repurchase, be subrogated without restriction to the concessionaire in all the rights accorded by the present law.

TITLE IV. PAYMENT

ARTICLE 43. When a final decision shall have been made regarding one or several of the categories of damages set forth in Article 2 or on account of the damages provided for by Article 15, each of the summaries delivered to the claimant in accordance with Article 41 shall, at his request, be exchanged within two months, under the direction of the Minister of Finance, for a bond representing the total amount accorded for the reparation of the loss sustained. This bond shall not be

negotiable[1]; it may be made the subject of advances under conditions to be determined by orders of the ministers of Finance and of the Liberated Regions; it may also, upon the authorization accompanied by a statement of reasons of the civil tribunal given *en banc* with the approval of the associated magistrates, be assigned in accordance with the provisions of articles 1,689 and following of the civil code, or pledged in accordance with articles 2,071 and following of the same code.

The claimant who shall reëmploy [the indemnity] under the conditions and according to the forms provided for by articles 4 and 5, or who shall subsequently exercise the privilege reserved to him by Article 9, shall receive, under the same conditions, a further bond indicating the amount of supplementary expenses accorded to him.

A similar additional bond shall be delivered for the excess of the value of replacement over the amount of the loss sustained in the case of the movable effects provided for by sections 1 to 4 of paragraph 4 of Article 13. In the case of the movables covered by the first three sections of the said paragraph, the delivery of the additional bond is made conditional upon the resumption of exploitation.

The amounts representing depreciation through age, as shown by the summary of the final decision, shall entitle the claimant to a special instrument (*titre*) setting forth the right of the claimant to the advance provided for by paragraph 5 of Article 5 of the present law.

Within two months a special bond shall be delivered in exchange for the summary of the final decision regarding reparation, [to the amount of] the capital sum, with interest at five per cent. per annum, dating from the time when the damage, money exactions, fines, and war contributions imposed by the enemy authorities or troops took place. The amounts due under this head shall, upon presentation of the bond, be paid to the claimant in cash.

Article 44. If the claimant shall reëmploy [the indemnity] in the case either of immovable property, under the conditions provided for by articles 4 and 5, or of personal effects, or if he shall enter into an undertaking before the cantonal commission or the tribunal of war damages to proceed to such re-

[1] Modified by the budget law of July 31, 1920, providing for the issuance of annuity bonds to sinistrés or groups of sinistrés whose indemnities amounted to 1,000,000 francs or over, and permitting such sinistrés to pledge the bonds as collateral for loans.

employment or such reconstitution, he shall be entitled without [further] proof [of his intention], within two months from the delivery of the bond, to a first installment of 25 per cent. on the amount allowed for loss sustained, which installment shall not be less than 3,000 francs if the loss sustained equals or exceeds that figure, nor more than 100,000 francs, unless he shall show proof before the tribunal of war damages, in particular by the production of receipts, accounts, invoices, bills of lading, or accepted orders from supply houses, of [actual] employment or greater immediate needs.

The balance of the amount of the loss sustained shall be paid to him in successive installments proportioned to proofs [submitted] of work done or purchases made, under the conditions set forth in the preceding paragraph. Each payment shall be made within two months after proof [is submitted].

When the payment of the loss sustained shall have been completed, the amount of the supplementary expenses shall be paid under the same conditions upon presentation of the additional bond.

The same procedure shall be followed in the case of the excess of the value of replacement over the amount of the loss sustained so far as the movable property covered by sections 1 to 4 of paragraph 4 of Article 13 is concerned.

The amounts allowed to the claimant for the reparation of damages caused to the movable property covered by paragraph 2 of Article 13 of the present law shall be paid after the payment of all other amounts due to the said claimant, whatever they may be.

If the claimant, after devoting to the reconstruction of buildings or the reëstablishment of an enterprise the amount of the supplementary expenses, exercises the right reserved to him by paragraph 5 of Article 5, the amount representing depreciation through age shall be paid to him on presentation of the special bond in proportion to the proofs of reëmployment submitted.

Without regard to the application of the foregoing provisions and before any evaluation of war damages, advances for the most urgent needs may be accorded to sinistrés under conditions which shall be determined jointly by the Minister of the Liberated Regions and the Minister of Finance.

Article 45. In case the claimant shall be entitled only to the amount of the loss sustained, if he shall within two years make declaration before the cantonal commission or before the tribunal of war damages of his intention to devote the indem-

nity to [the restoration of] immovable property or to agricultural, industrial, or commercial purposes, or to the exercise of a profession anywhere within the territory, the indemnity representing the loss sustained shall also be paid to him in successive installments in accordance with proofs submitted of work done or purchases made.

ARTICLE 46. The state may discharge its obligation, with the consent of the claimants, in any of the following ways:

In the case of immovable property [which is such] by nature, by the donation of other immovable property of the same kind and the same value situated in the canton in which the damage was done or in other cantons of the liberated regions (*cantons limitrophes*);

In the case of immovables by destination and of movables of industrial, commercial, agricultural, professional or domestic character, by [the donation of] similar property of the same value;

In the case of other movable property by the delivery of other movables of the same kind or the same value.

The state may also discharge its obligation in whole or in part by carrying out at its own expense the work of restoring movable or immovable property that has been damaged or by furnishing the materials for such restoration.

It shall also have the right to acquire in whole or in part immovable property damaged or destroyed. In default of an amicable agreement the price shall be determined according to the rules laid down under the preceding title for the evaluation of indemnity, account being taken of the value of the soil, including therein all of the elements provided for in case of reëmployment, if the vendor shall take the engagement regarding reëmployment set forth by Article 5 of the present law. Payment shall be made according to circumstances in the way provided for by articles 44 and 45.

The state shall have the right to acquire immovable property, following an attempt at agreement, if the restoration of the soil shall exceed the value of the land as diminished for purposes of use, account being taken, if necessary, of the depreciation which the remainder of the property would suffer in case of partial acquisition.

The state shall have the right, in all cases and at all times, to discharge its obligation by anticipation.

If the claimant is indebted to the state on any account what-

ever, even in the payment of his taxes, the amount so owed by him shall, at his request, be credited upon the amount of his indemnity, and shall not be demandable before that amount shall have been determined.

ARTICLE 47. The amounts due from the state in reparation of loss sustained, with the exception of those due for damages caused to pleasure resorts and to the movable property referred to in paragraph 2 of Article 13, shall bear interest from November 11, 1918, at five per cent. per annum, payable to the claimant quarterly in cash.

In all cases of damages caused to merchandise, crops, products, and stocks of provisions, and to raw materials which shall not enjoy the benefits of the provisions of paragraph 4, sections 1, 2, and 3, of Article 13, the interest shall begin six months after the date of the damage.

ARTICLE 48. The payment of indemnities, interest, and advances shall be made directly by the state or under its guaranty. In case the state shall invite the coöperation of financial establishments, the agreements made shall be submitted for ratification to the chambers.

TITLE V. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

[Article 49 relates to the conditions under which indemnity may be assigned, including assignments to building and loan associations and coöperative societies. A law of October 23, 1919, extended the provisions of this article to public services and societies concerned with the provision of low-priced dwellings, and authorized the acquisition of damaged immovables with a view to providing such dwellings in the liberated regions. Article 50 authorizes a claimant who, before the adoption of the present law, had sold land on which there were buildings to recover the same by action at law.]

ARTICLE 51. The tribunal of war damages shall have the right, without recourse and without appeal, of its own motion and notwithstanding any agreement to the contrary, to reduce the amounts demanded of a claimant by agents or architects (*hommes de l'art*) whom he may have employed for the defense of his interests, as well as [the amounts demanded] by experts.

The reduction shall not be requested, or adjudged by the tribunal of its own motion, later than two years from the [date of the] determination of the indemnity.

The amounts paid may be recovered.

[Articles 52 and 53 provide for forfeiture of the right to indemnity in the case of persons convicted of offenses under military laws, French subjects who deserted during the war or failed to serve when called, and claimants who use their indemnities in contravention of the provisions of the present law. Article 54 prescribes the judicial procedure in such cases.]

ARTICLE 55. A person engaged in industry or commerce who shall have restored his establishment, wholly or partially, under the conditions set forth under Title II of the present law shall be required, within fifteen days after the establishment has resumed operations, to give notice thereof to the Minister of Labor, who shall deliver to him a receipt and take all appropriate measures to bring the said notice to the knowledge of the workmen or employees whom the person engaged in industry or commerce [formerly] employed. During the month following the declaration the workmen or employees shall be allowed to resume work in the order of their registration and to the extent of the needs of the enterprise.

ARTICLE 56. A right of priority as against all others shall be accorded to sinistrés in the acquisition and transport of materials, raw materials, and necessary supplies, as well as in obtaining the labor needed by them in order to make reëmployment [of indemnities] effectual. This right of priority shall be regulated by a decree to be issued within a month from the promulgation of the present law.

ARTICLE 57. As a provisional matter the decisions already rendered by the cantonal commissions in accordance with the provisions of articles 3 to 8 of the decree of July 20, 1915, and by the departmental commissions in accordance with the provisions of titles II and III of the same decree shall, upon the request either of the prefect or of claimants or their legal representatives, be revised and completed if need be in accordance with the provisions of the present law. They may in any case be contested before the tribunal of war damages within six months from the date of promulgation of the present law.[1]

ARTICLE 58. In case societies shall have been organized for the purpose of rebuilding works (*établissements*) or destroyed buildings, they shall receive, in the event of non-reëmployment

[1] A law of November 26, 1920, required the filing before December 31, 1920, of the requests for revision referred to in this article.

[of an indemnity] by a member, and even in the absence of an assignment consented to by him, the amount of the supplementary expenses in lieu of the common fund created under paragraph 2 of Article 7 of the present law.

ARTICLE 59. The expenses of remaking the cadastre, of survey, and if necessary of reparcelment [of communes] required by the events of the war shall be at the cost of the state.

ARTICLE 60. The expenses of removing débris (*déblaiement*) from all immovable property and of searching for and removing unexploded projectiles shall also be at the cost of the state, which may undertake this work of its own motion, by agreement with the municipality, without the authorization of the owners [of the property]. The state shall become the owner of the materials [so removed].

The state shall be responsible for accidents due to the explosion of unexploded projectiles.

ARTICLE 61. The expense of preparing plans of lines and levels for public ways of all kinds, which may require to be drawn up with a view to the reconstruction of destroyed buildings in communes or parts of communes which have suffered from the events of the war, shall be at the cost of the state.

Subventions included in the budget of the ministry charged with the reconstitution of the liberated regions may be granted by the minister to communes for the expenditures required for the immediate application of the plans of lines and levels, in the case of ways the soil of which belongs to them, and to departments in the case of departmental highways.

These subventions shall be applicable in particular to the acquisition of vacant land, or of buildings actually ruined or seriously injured, comprised within the alignments. The price of acquisition of such lands and buildings shall, in default of amicable agreement, be fixed by a jury composed of four jurors under the conditions prescribed by Article 16 of the law of May 21, 1836, no matter what may be the character of the public way in which the said lands and buildings shall be incorporated.

The interest upon the said subventions shall be determined in accordance with a scale to be fixed by a decree countersigned by the Minister of Finance and the Minister of the Liberated Regions.

ARTICLE 62. Expenditures resulting from improvements re-

quired by public hygiene in groups of buildings under the administrative regulations provided for by Article 5 shall be at the cost of the state.

ARTICLE 63. The amounts which are still owed by communes in France upon loans contracted by them on account of the events of former wars shall be assumed by the state from the date of promulgation of the present law.

ARTICLE 64. A special law will regulate the rights and obligations under leases in the case of immovable property which shall have suffered by the events of war, as well as those of fortified places or localities whose inhabitants have been evacuated by military order.

ARTICLE 65. A special law will regulate the conditions under which the right to reparation of damages occasioned to commercial capital shall be accorded.

ARTICLE 66. A special law will determine the conditions under which the right to reparation shall be exercised in the case of:

1. Damages to persons resulting from the events of the war.

2. Damages which any one may have had to suffer in person or property in consequence of accidents which shall have occurred:

(*a*) in state arsenals, factories, or munitions depots;

(*b*) in private factories working for national defense, if reparation cannot be had by recourse to general law. The state shall be subrogated to the rights, actions, and privileges of the victim of the damage for the purpose of recovering the advances which it shall have authorized in his case in order to meet his most urgent needs.

ARTICLE 67. During the three years which shall follow the cessation of hostilities the inhabitants of the regions which have suffered from the events of the war who shall provide, in their own dwellings, rooms capable of being let or sublet furnished to transient visitors shall be entitled, in each commune, to form a syndicate in accordance with the law of March 21, 1884.

The lodgings offered shall conform to the conditions prescribed by the departmental commission of hygiene and shall be subject to its control.

A list of these lodgings with the scale of prices, approved by the National Touring Bureau, shall be placed at the disposition of all inquirers at the mairie.

ARTICLE 68. The present law shall apply to the colonies and

protectorates. An administrative regulation shall determine the conditions of its application.

The indemnities accorded in reparation of damages caused by the events of war in the colonies shall be carried by the credits opened in the general budget of the state.

[Article 69 amends the law of July 5, 1917, as to proof of the condition of places in regard to which claims for war damages may be asserted. Article 70 repeals the decrees of February 4, 1915, as modified by the decrees of April 7 and 8, 1915; the decrees of March 24, 1915, as modified by the decree of April 22, 1915; the decree of July 20, 1915, and all other provisions contrary to the present law.]

APPENDIX C

Law of the Coöperative Reconstruction Societies[1]

August 15, 1920

Law fixing the legal status of coöperative reconstruction societies formed by sinistrés for the reconstitution of immovable property which has suffered by the events of the war.

TITLE I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. Coöperative reconstruction societies may be formed by persons entitled to indemnity in reparation of damages to immovable property, or by persons having an interest therein, by virtue of the law of April 17, 1919.

These societies shall have for their object the carrying on, on behalf of their members, of all the operations relating to the reconstitution of immovable property, in particular the preparation of papers (*dossiers*), the evaluation of damages, the execution, supervision, and payment of work of repair or reconstitution, and the reëmployment of advances and partial payments provided for by the law above referred to.

They shall enjoy the status of civil persons.

Article 2. The duration of the society shall be determined by the accomplishment of the object for which it shall have been formed.

The society shall not be dissolved before the expiration of its term except through a vote of the general assembly representing the majority both in members and in amounts [of indemnity involved], or by a judicial decision for grave causes duly proved.

The life of the society shall not terminate with the death, failure, judicial liquidation, bankruptcy, or acts of any of its members; in these various cases, as in the case of assignment, it shall continue under the heirs or legal claimants.

[1] *Bulletin des Lois,* Nouvelle Série, No. 279, pp. 3950-3955.

ARTICLE 3. The general assembly of the members shall have full authority to act regarding the statutes and all other affairs of the society. It shall comprise two-thirds of the members representing one-half of the total amount of the indemnities administered by the society.

If the first assembly shall not fulfill the conditions above prescribed, a new assembly shall be convoked. Its decisions shall be final provided it shall include at least one-half of the members representing one-third of the total amount of the indemnities.

If these conditions shall still not be fulfilled, a third assembly shall be convoked, and its action shall be valid whatever the number of members present and whatever the total amount of the indemnities represented.

Decisions shall always be taken by an absolute majority of the members present or represented.

The assembly shall choose an administrative council taken from the members of the society. Those who have made contracts with the society for the performance of work or the sale of supplies shall be ineligible.

The administrative council shall act in general on behalf of its members as their agent in relation to the state and its agents, and shall administer their interests in accordance with the provisions of the present law.

It shall in particular make all contracts and purchases in their name, and shall cause to be executed the work of repairing or reconstituting their immovable property in accordance with plans and specifications accepted by them.

It shall be the legal representative of the society in judicial proceedings.

The council may delegate all or a part of its powers to one of its members, and may on its own responsibility devolve upon a director or superintendent the execution and supervision of the operations of the society.

ARTICLE 4. The resources appropriate to the society shall comprise:

1. Payments made by the members as their proportionate part of a general fund to be used in meeting the charges and expenses of the society.
2. Subventions and advances, if such there be, accorded by the state.
3. Contributions, gifts, or legacies made to the society.

The expenses of the society shall comprise the charges and expenditures necessary for its operation.

ARTICLE 5. Payments made by the state to the society for the account of its members shall be made by means of credits established in its name at the offices of the disbursing agents of the treasury or at establishments designated for that purpose.

Individual accounts, distinct from those of the society, shall be opened on the books of the agency with each member, which accounts shall show, first, the amounts which the society has received on his account and which are required to be devoted strictly to the reparation or reconstitution of immovable property under the conditions of reëmployment prescribed by the law of April 17, 1919; and, second, the amounts owed by the society or paid on its account.

ARTICLE 6. The administrators shall be responsible to the society and to third parties for violations of the provisions of the present law and for serious mistakes which they may have made in the exercise of their functions.

ARTICLE 7. The members of the society shall be responsible for the debts and obligations of the society to the extent provided for by Article 4 of the present law and in proportion to their interests.

They shall not be allowed to withdraw from the society before the determination of their indemnities by the commissions and [other] competent bodies, nor, in case they have elected to reëmploy [their indemnities], before the completion of the work of reconstituting their immovable property and the subsequent settlement of their individual accounts.

ARTICLE 8. Within a month from the time when a coöperative society or union of coöperative societies shall have been formed a duplicate of the act of organization, if executed under private seal, or an attested copy if executed by a notary, shall be filed with the clerk of the justice of the peace of the canton and at the prefecture of the department.

Within the same period a summary of the act of organization shall be published in one of the newspapers of the arrondissement of the same department designated for the reception of legal notices.

The formalities above prescribed shall be observed by the society under penalty of nullity.

ARTICLE 9. The order in which work relative to immovable property which is to be repaired or reconstructed shall be per-

formed shall be determined under conditions prescribed by the statutes [of the society].

[Article 10 exempts from registration and stamping the acts relating to the organization, etc., of a society and all other action taken in fulfillment of its purposes.]

ARTICLE 11. Coöperative reconstruction societies formed in accordance with the provisions of the present law shall be allowed to form unions, under the same conditions, for the purpose of entering into contracts, making joint purchases, centralizing operations of accounting, and aiding one another in the administration of their common interests.

ARTICLE 12. In addition to the conditions prescribed by the present law, coöperative reconstruction societies or unions of the same shall be subject to the general principles of law applicable to contracts and obligations.

TITLE II. SPECIAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND UNIONS OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES APPROVED BY THE STATE

ARTICLE 13. Such coöperative societies only as shall have received the approval of the state shall be allowed to benefit by the pecuniary advantages stipulated by the present law.

ARTICLE 14. The conditions of approval shall be as follows:

1. The statutes shall be framed in conformity with the essential provisions contained in the typical statutes drawn up by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions.

2. The choice of architects, contractors, and experts (*hommes de l'art*) intrusted by the society with the preparation of plans or the superintendence, execution, and direction of work shall be made from a list prepared for each department with the coöperation of the approved societies and under conditions to be fixed by decree.

3. The society shall be required to have a system of accounting and shall be subject to financial control by the state.

4. It shall be composed of the sinistrés or their representatives of one or several communes. Not more than one coöperative society, however, shall be allowed in the same commune unless the amount of damages occasioned to the immovable property of the members, calculated on the basis of the loss sustained, shall equal at least one million francs.

ARTICLE 15. The [fulfillment of] the conditions of approval shall be verified by a special committee presided over by the prefect, which shall decide within fifteen days in regard to the filing of the request [for approval].

A refusal of approval shall be accompanied by a statement of the reasons therefor. The decision rendered shall be subject to appeal to a special committee, sitting at Paris and presided over by the Minister of the Liberated Regions, which shall give its decision within one month.

One-third of the members of these committees, which shall be appointed under the conditions set forth in Article 22 of the present law, shall be members of coöperative societies.

ARTICLE 16. Approval may be withdrawn by the minister, on the advice of the central committee, in case of failure to observe the requirements laid down by the present law or of grave mistakes committed by the administrators, the right being reserved to the society to appeal to the Council of State.

ARTICLE 17. For the purpose of facilitating the operations of the general services of approved coöperative societies, subventions shall be granted to them by the state in accordance with a scale annexed to the present law, [such subventions to be included] in the credits carried by the budget of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions.

ARTICLE 18. In addition to the individual advances and partial payments provided for by the law of April 17, 1919, and for the purpose of facilitating the constitution of a general fund for approved coöperative societies, advances to be repaid may be made to them by the Minister of the Liberated Regions with the approval of the Minister of Finance.

ARTICLE 19. The state shall have the right to make contracts mutually satisfactory with coöperative reconstruction societies for the execution of the work of clearing away débris, whatever the importance of such work may be.

ARTICLE 20. The following may become members of approved coöperative societies and may take part in their operations on the same basis as other members:

1. Departments, communes, and public enterprises, under conditions to be determined by a decree issued by the Minister of the Liberated Regions with the approval of the ministers of the Interior and of Finance.

2. Incompetent persons duly authorized.

ARTICLE 21. Societies or unions of societies already formed,

whatever the nature of their organization, for the purpose of repairing or reconstructing immovable property which has been destroyed or injured by the events of war, societies for providing low-priced houses, and societies which make loans on immovable property may, if approved by administrative order, obtain the approval of the Minister of the Liberated Regions in the way prescribed by articles 13 and following of the present law.

ARTICLE 22. Within one month from the date of promulgation of the present law a decree, issued at the instance of the Minister of the Liberated Regions and countersigned by the Minister of Finance, shall determine the method of according subventions and advances, the form of accounting, the composition of the departmental committees and of the central committee, the procedure for the establishment of lists of architects, contractors, and experts and, in general, all measures having to do with the application of the present law.

ARTICLE 23. The present law shall apply to the departments of the Haut-Rhin, Bas-Rhin, and Moselle as well as to the other French departments.

APPENDIX D

The figures of population under the census of March, 1921, made public on December 30, are given in the following tables, the corresponding figures for 1911 being added for purposes of comparison.

I. Departments

	1921	1911	Gain	Loss
Aisne	421,515	530,226	.....	108,711
Ardennes	277,811	318,896	.....	41,085
Belfort	94,338	101,386	.....	7,048
Marne	366,734	436,310	.....	69,576
Meurthe-et-Moselle.....	503,810	564,730	.....	60,920
Meuse	207,309	277,955	.....	70,646
Nord	1,787,918	1,961,780	.....	173,862
Oise	387,760	411,028	.....	23,268
Pas-de-Calais..	989,967	1,068,185	.....	78,218
Seine-et-Marne.	349,234	363,561	.....	14,327
Somme	452,624	520,161	.....	67,537
Vosges	383,684	433,914	.....	50,230
Total	6,222,704	6,988,132	.....	765,428

II. Cities of over 30,000

	1921	1911	Gain	Loss
Amiens	92,780	93,207	.....	427
Belfort	39,301	39,371	.....	70
Chalons-sur-Marne	31,194	31,367	.....	173
Douai	34,803	36,314	.....	1,511
Lille	200,952	217,807	.....	16,855
Nancy	113,226	119,949	.....	6,723
Reims	76,645	115,178	.....	38,533
Roubaix	113,265	122,723	.....	9,458
St. Quentin....	37,345	55,571	.....	18,226
Tourcoing	78,600	82,644	.....	4,044
Valenciennes ...	34,425	34,766	.....	341

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